

PAKISTAN: A NATION IN THE MAKING



A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF PAKISTAN'S POTENTIALS
TO RISE AS A PROUD AND PROSPEROUS NATION

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*Dedicated to . . .
all the martyrs of the country
and their families who sacrificed
for a better Pakistan.*



What is that critical juncture at which if a nation is defeated, its survival is threatened or it ceases its identity and right to exist?

It's neither military, nor economic or political rather a four letter word "Hope" on which rests a state's entity – if the element of "hope" is defeated, the whole nation is defeated.

In Pakistan's contemporary grim situation, one element is explicitly pronounced that, "we are still breathing" – means surviving as nation – with a hope for better tomorrow.

The resilient character of Pakistani nation – "Hope" and its ability to breath under adverse conditions - encouraged the researcher to conduct a comparative research of Pakistan's national behaviour and potentials in relations to other unitary actors of international community who have already experienced such situations in their history.

Some may declare the research road map as a fantasy – built on a dream only to seeing Pakistan as a proud and prosperous nation. The assumption cannot be wrong as dreaming or day-dreaming – individually for one's better future or collectively for national cause – is a natural phenomenon. The desire to see Pakistan as proud and prosperous nation is, in fact, the ultimate transformation of dream into reality.

Arshad Mahmood



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PREFACE

The Breathing Narrative

Friday, 4 December 2009, 1:30 pm, four suicide attackers swarmed through Friday Prayers at Parade Lane Mosque, Rawalpindi killing forty Pakistani citizens. The mosque – the home of Almighty Allah and a symbol of peace and security – was littered with blood and flesh of dead and wounded. Among others was lying – in the middle of the courtyard – the body of a sixteen years old martyr Abdullah with his eyes wide open – bewildered and inquisitive to know as to why his right to live was snatched. Abdullah Shaheed's body was full of queries! He wanted to know,

“Was this country created in the name of Islam where – according to its founder, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah – everyone (including non-Muslims) would be allowed to practice their religious obligations freely and fearlessly.”

Even today Abdullah's voice is still echoing loudly in Parade Lane Mosque, and those who understand his soul can well translate his words. He asks:

“Why was I killed? I had a lot of dreams – dreams pertaining to my personal career, my family, my nation, and my country. Born in a military family I was a proud Pakistani. I wanted to become a doctor to serve and save humanity following the commandment of my Allah. And, following the footsteps of my father, I wanted to make Pakistan a proud and prosperous country in the comity of nations. This couldn't be a valid reason of my assassination. Then, why was I killed?”

His voice echoes further:

“I was Hafiz-e-Quran (who learnt the Holy Quran by heart) and wanted to become a good Muslim. As a Muslim I believed in oneness of Almighty Allah and His universal message for the complete humanity as a message of peace. As a Muslim I remained testimonial that the Holy Prophet, peace be upon Him (PBUH) – as His messenger – came as blessings for the entire universe and that his message was the message of peace. Was this again a reason for my murder? Or that I wanted to become a good practicing Muslim; a Muslim who – according to Allah – only acts in response to Allah; loves his fellow being; never kills anybody and above all turns off evil with good; and, a Muslim who – as per the teachings of Holy Prophet (PBUH) – is another Muslim’s brother and hurts no one. Then, why was I killed?”

It’s not just the voice of Abdullah, but of forty-five thousand innocent civilians besides over five thousands soldiers who have lost their lives in the ongoing War on Terror (WOT). Above all, it portrays the security environment in which we are breathing today – the environment in which the life and property of its citizens are not secure, and public places have become soft targets of terrorists.

But we are breathing – it’s important!

Mullazim Hussain is a government servant – working as a gardener in a public department at Attock. He lives in a rented house with his two kids. His monthly income is far below Rupees ten thousand. No world best economist can make his home budget balancing his income with his expenditures.

Mullazim’s five year old daughter is suffering from trachoma eye – an infectious eye disease, and the leading cause of blindness in Asia and Africa. With his meagre

income, Mullazim can afford neither her specialized treatment nor quality education in school. His only hope and lifetime investment is his eleven years old son, Saif – a brilliant student of Class-5 in Army Public School, Attock. Mullazim wants to see his son as an officer in Pakistan Army and for that he works day and night to ensure continuity of his education.

I asked Mullazim as to how he makes his both ends meet? “*With extreme difficulty*” – was spontaneous reply from Mullazim Hussain. He added, “*I work for eight hours in the office and then two to three hours in private bungalows in afternoon. My total sum income is barely sufficient to keep us alive.*” I again questioned as to how he compared his present living standard with his past. “*It was better yesterday and even day-before-yesterday.*” Mullazim Hussain summed up the country’s economic situation just in one sentence.

It’s just not the story of one low middle class individual, rather, that of the half of country’s population living below poverty line (an income of US\$ 2 or less per day).

It also truly illustrates the country’s economic environment in which we are breathing. But still we are breathing – it’s even important!

Muhammad Afzal – commonly known as Chacha Majnu – is approximately 66 years old Caddie in Rawalpindi Golf Course. He is the oldest and senior most club caddie who has the honour to carry the golf kits of many senior military officers and heads of the state including Field Marshal Ayub Khan, General Zia-ul-Haq, General Pervez Musharraf and General Ashfaq Pervaiz Kayyani. Chacha Majnu works day and night to earn livelihood for his family.

Chacha Majnu was a staunch supporter of democracy and a stirred political worker of a popular political party. I asked him as to whom he would vote in the next elections. “*No one,*” was his spontaneous reaction, “*I have lost faith in democracy and political system of the country.*” He further added,

“Throughout my life, I worked for cause of democracy. But the political governments have failed to deliver and come up to our expectations of general masses. Long hours of load shedding, shortage of CNG and inflation are all gifts of democratic regimes besides nepotism, corruption and social injustice.”

These are the bitter political realities of the country. Personal conduct of the political leadership can be judged from the fact that one of the previous most powerful presidents and one of the recent ex-premiers were barred to contest in elections – 2013 on serious treason and contempt of court charges. The other most recent ex-premier allowed to contest elections conditionally but lost in his parent constituency. A vast majority of our parliamentarians is either fake degree holder or their degrees are non-verified. In the house of 1070 (342 in national and 728 in four provincial assemblies) the Election Commission of Pakistan could publish record of only 105 parliamentarians / MPAs, declared as genuine degree holders. Moreover, the majority is considered as tax evaders or known for filing flawed tax returns. But they are always successful in elections and enjoy perks and privileges as parliamentarians.

Alas, these are the political environment in which we are breathing. But we are breathing – yet again, it’s most important!

Brain Bogglers

After more than half a century since independence we have still not taken off to become a nation. The prevailing country’s breathing environments are choking – pungent and depressing too – for: every patriot who wants to see the country’s flag fluttering with distinct colours; every soldier who has taken oath of defending its geographical and ideological borders; and, every citizen who has his stakes in this state. Many middling scholars like me, have numerous mind bogglers about the future of their beloved motherland.

Are we really playing with fire? Are we heading towards disaster? Will Pakistan be able to survive as an independent and sovereign state? Is there any way out of the prevailing crises situation?

And, should we let it go like that – and let the history to remember us as silent spectators and eyewitnesses of the process of attrition of their national polity?

Or, instead of just cursing the darkness should we lit a candle and play our role in what so ever humble capacity we are?

An Important Discovery

Before retorting above queries one needs to first discover the critical juncture at which a nation's survival is threatened or it ceases its identity and right to exist. To realists a nation's survival – in such anarchic system – is solely dependent upon its power structure. Clausewitz calls it as state's "Centre of Gravity (CoG)." According to him, CoG is that point in enemy organism – military, political, social etc – at which, should he be defeated, or should he lose it, the whole structure of the nation power will collapse. The pundits of liberal school of thought also believe that "survival" is the main goal of a nation. But unlike realist – who believe more on military power – liberals argue that a state's CoG rests in its economic power. The constructivists account is somewhat different. According to Wendt, military power, trade relations, international institutions, or domestic preferences are not important because they carry normative values about the world. Constructivists – following ontological approach – also stress the importance of normative and ideational structure because these are thought to shape the social identities of political actors.

The constructivists' arguments nullify (though not directly) all realist / neo-realist and liberal / neo-liberal assumptions of a nation's entity as an independent and sovereign state and show (though indirectly) a ray of hope, a light at end of the

tunnel, and a distinct and bright silver-lining in the prevailing dismal breathing environment of Pakistan. Yes, it is the four letter word “Hope” on which rests a state’s entity – if the element of “hope” is defeated, the whole nation is defeated.

In the country’s contemporary grim situation, one element is explicitly pronounced that, “we are still breathing” – means surviving as nation – with a hope for better tomorrow.

The discovery of resilient character, “Hope” and the ability to breathe under adverse conditions, has encouraged me to conduct a comparative study of the national behaviour and potentials in relations to other unitary actors of international community who have already experienced such situations in their history. The purpose of the study is tri-fold: firstly, to establish the root-causes of today’s hazy national picture; secondly, to explore the state’s potentials and its future role in the anarchic world order; and, thirdly, to sketch out a plausible roadmap leading to a lucid dawn.

Abstract Surrealism

Some may declare the proposed study as a fantasy – built on a dream only to seeing Pakistan as a proud and prosperous nation. The assumption cannot be wrong as dreaming or day-dreaming – individually for one’s better future or collectively for national cause – is a natural phenomenon. The desire to see Pakistan as proud and prosperous nation is, in fact, the ultimate transformation of my dream into reality.

Dreaming to some is only a theoretical experience which has nothing to do with reality. But it is also a historic truth that the emergence of every great nation, success of every great project and triumph of every great movement is based on some dream. No one can deny the fact that various visionary and motivating dreams of leaders have changed the course of history.

Enormously motivating were the historic dreams of Sojourner Truth and Emmeline Pankhurst – the leading

activists of American abolitionist and British suffragette movements in previous centuries.

Sojourner Truth, participated in a long and sustained movement for women rights in USA. Truth showed the American women a new hope (dream), asking them to rise for their rights.

Similarly, Emmeline Pankhurst symbolises the struggle that women made in Britain at the start of the 20th century. It forced the British parliament to pass Representation of the People Act in 1918 enfranchising women the right of vote.

Equally stimulating was President Abraham Lincoln's dream, who during the American Civil War (1861-1865) led the United States through its greatest constitutional, military, and moral crises and ultimately succeeded in preserving the Union, abolishing slavery, strengthening the national government and modernizing the economy. Lincoln's main task as president was most challenging any U.S. president had faced. He had to make certain that there was still a United States for future presidents to govern. On November 19, 1863, he expressed his dream – about future of the Union – in his historic Gettysburg address. He spoke for less than three minutes – his speech was just 269 words long. But he made his goal very sure – while showing his resolve he said: *“this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom.”* He further resolved: *“government of the people, by the people and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.”*

No less impressive was Winston Churchill's dream who – as "war-time prime minister" – led his country during World War II. He was appointed as British Prime Minister and Defence Minister on May 10, 1940, the day when the German Army began its Western Offensive, invading the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg. Two days later, German forces entered France. Britain – under Churchill's leadership – stood alone against the onslaught.

On May 13, 1940 he told his Cabinet: "*I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears and sweat.*" The glimpses of his historic speech show that it was nothing but narration of his dream. He said:

"remember that we are in the preliminary stage of one of the greatest battles in history....."

And:

"You ask, what our policy is? I can say: It is to wage war..... with all the strength that God can give us;.....That is our policy. You ask, what is our aim? I can answer in one word: It is victory, victory at all costs, victory in spite of all terror, victory, how long and hard the road may be; for without victory, there is no survival."

And finally:

"I take up my task with buoyancy and hope.....come then, let us go forward together with our united strength."

John Fitzgerald Kennedy also had inspirational dream about his country. The youngest man elected as the U.S. president (1961-1963) – the youngest to die, as well – after taking oath of the office on a frigid winter's day, January 20, 1961, he gave his dream speech. He urged all Americans to unite against common enemies of tyranny, poverty, disease, and corruption – announcing the dawn of a new era. He made these golden remarks during his speech:

"And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country. My fellow citizens of the world: ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man."

Martin Luther King – an American clergyman, activist, and leader in the African-American Civil Rights Movement – had the most moving, stirring and inspirational dream about the future of his country. King delivered a heart-touching speech on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial during the march on Washington for jobs and freedom. The speech is seen as a turning point in the struggle for equality that black Americans were suffering. The speech was ranked Top American Speech by a poll of scholars of public address.

Each and every word which he uttered in his magic speech – “*I have a dream*” – had left everlasting imprints on the hearts and minds of the countrymen. He said:

“I say to you today, my friends, so even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.”

Further he said:

“I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the colour of their skin but by the content of their character I have a dream today!.....I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, and every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plain, and the crooked places will be made straight and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed and all flesh shall see it together. . . . This is our hope, and this is the faith that I go back to the South with.”

The South African former president and anti-apartheid revolutionary leader – Nelson Mandela – also had a rousing dream to dismantle apartheid in South Africa. He served twenty-seven years in prison (1962-1990). His life has been an inspiration to all, who are oppressed and deprived, and to all who are opposed to oppression and deprivation.

In 1964 – facing charges including sabotage, high treason and conspiracy to overthrow the government – he made a memorable statement – *“I am the First Accused”* – from the dock on opening of his defence. He said:

“During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people..... I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.”

No one can deny the fact that idea of Pakistan is based on “Iqbal’s Dream.” On December 29, 1930, Doctor Allama Muhammad Iqbal, in his Presidential Address to the 25th Session of All-India Muslim League at Allahabad, India, presented the idea of a separate homeland for Muslims of the sub-continent. Iqbal was not the first thinker proposing the separation of Muslim India, but – indeed – the only one who gave the most lucid explanation of the inner feelings of the Muslim community. Without mixing words Iqbal said: *“I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into one state.”* The presidential address did not include only his reverie of a piece of land for Muslims but it encompassed the complete philosophy of Islam and Iqbal’s understanding of its law and politics, its culture, its history and its literature. His dream also conceived the new Muslim State – Pakistan – as a place where, at one hand the Muslims demand was actuated by their genuine desire for free development, and on the other, it posed no threat to minorities. To this end he said:

“Nor should the Hindus fear that the creation of autonomous Muslim state will mean the introduction of a kind of religious rule.”

Iqbal also had a dream of unity, political reforms, rising above sectional interests and private ambitions and above all seeking guidance from Islam at critical moments – as he said:

“At critical moments in their history, it is Islam that has saved Muslims and not vice versa.”

It is also true that Iqbal’s dream was built by Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. But a lot still remains to be built – on our part!

What do the People of Pakistan Dream about?

Like all the above legendary figures, no ordinary citizen of Pakistan is an exception to dream – thinking wishfully and praying for the best of their personal goals in life and for the survival and prosperity of their motherland. The dream of a Pakistani is not different from the dream of Shaheed Abdullah who wanted to give his best to his country, so as to make it a proud and prosperous nation in the world. Nor is it different from that of Mullazim Hussain and Chacha Majnu who wish to see economic and political prosperity, and trickling down of their dividends to general masses.

But first and foremost dream and prayer of the common citizens of this country is related to its survival as an independent, sovereign and respectable actor in international arena. They also dream and pray for Pakistan’s peace, security and prosperity – so that life, property and religious beliefs of its subjects are fully protected (as stressed by Quaid-e-Azam during his address to the 1st Constituent Assembly).

They also dream and pray for a society free of corruption and nepotism, where rule of law prevails, where their children get best education and have secure future.

They dream and pray that courts dispense justice across the board, and all government departments have complete transparency in processing their cases without any favouritism and nepotism.

They also dream and pray for the social and economic wellbeing of the country – a fair and square economic system which is not for elites only but for general masses too.

They also dream and pray for the real essence of democratic norms in the country where their true representatives reach the floor of parliament and serve to the best interests of the state and its subjects.

Above all, they also dream and pray for complete elimination of terrorism and extremism from society, and revival and sustenance of a durable peace. They also dream and pray for such societal norms in which its citizens are not recognised on the basis of their religion, cast and creed but only as citizens of Pakistan.

Academically and individually, all Pakistanis think alike. But the day they collectively took some practical steps, the process of our transformation into a proud and prosperous nation would take off.

This book is a humble effort in this direction.

Arshad Mahmood

FOREWORD

Pakistan was the first country to emerge on the global map in the changed international environments in the post World War II era. Due to its geostrategic location Pakistan has not only remained focus of attention of all global actors but it could also not dissociate its domestic environment from regional and international developments. Whether it is the western war against communism, a border dispute between China and India, the US policy of détente or rapprochement towards China and Russia, invasion of Afghanistan by the former USSR, or purely Indo-Pakistan stanch rivalry, regional and international organizations and states have always engaged Pakistan to play its role.

Though Pakistan got independence in 1947 but could never enjoy absolute sovereignty. Apart from various internal flaws, Pakistan's domestic security, political and economic character possesses grave global instinct. Resultantly, the process of transformation of the state into politically proud and economically prosperous nation could not take off. The country's prevailing grim situation is purely due to the repercussion of the fall of twin towers on September 11, 2001 in New York. As a matter of fact the 9/11 tragedy has changed the complete social fiber of Pakistani nation.

Analyzing Pakistan's institutional performance vis-à-vis its potentials one could easily identify a wide gap between the two. There is, hence, a dire need to inquire the reasons of Pakistan's poor performance in its domestic behaviour which ultimately tarnished its image in international community. This book is just an effort in the same direction.

Though the world is well aware of Pakistan's significance and the role towards regional and international stability, it is also a known fact that Pakistan is little understood by international community. Despite rendering unprecedented sacrifices, the state's role in the ongoing Global War on Terror (GWOT) has never been acknowledged by the global players. The world, especially the US, need to realize that Pakistan is

not terrorist state, rather the worst victim of terrorism and forefront ally of the west in the GWOT. Pakistan has made the world peaceful place to live at the cost of its own security, sacrificing over five thousand professional soldiers and over fifty thousand innocent civilians, and bearing over one hundred billion US dollars economic losses.

When the author of this book approached me for supervising his creative work and discussed the statement of the problem, I was not sure whether he would be successful in his effort as the scope of the study was too wide. However, after sessions of discussions, the span of the study was limited to political, economic and security institutions, which are core institutions for any nations deciding its rise and fall in world theatre.

The author has applied triangulation method and conducted research in realist and social constructivist paradigms. Realism signifies a state's behaviour in the anarchic world order towards maintaining the international security while safeguarding its vital national interests. As most of the realists believe that states are subjected to prisoners' dilemma and have limited options to determine their role in international politics, Pakistan is no exception to this decree. Using the neorealist script of world politics – as outlined by Kenneth Waltz in *Theory of International Politics* (1979) – the author has extensively examined the root-causes of the country's past performance – both at home as well global canvas. Subjected to security dilemma, Pakistan had to rely upon the west for its security needs and enter into deadly nuclear arm race with its staunch rival India. The regional and international dynamics have also been detrimental in shaping Pakistan's overall security concerns. The half century of Cold War between the US and former USSR, Sino-Indian conflicts, Afghan war (1979-89), domestic environments prevailing in neighbouring Afghanistan and Iran, and finally the 9/11 are all contributing factors to serve as primary impetus in seeking security – forcing Pakistan to maximize its relative power. The net effect of the existing structure of regional and international relations has been extremely harmful towards

Pakistan's domestic behaviour. Neither could Pakistan's economy take off nor its security situation improved over the last sixty seven years. All such factors have been analyzed in this book in length and breath.

Another significant aspect of the book is a comprehensive comparative study of Pakistan with existing world models of pride, peace and prosperity. The proportional analysis have again been conducted in realist paradigm under worldly recognized political, economic and security indicators.

The study conducted in this book is not diagnostic in nature; rather it also presents certain plausible prognosis for the state's policy makers. Finding a solution to a problem – lighting a candle instead cursing the darkness – is the real essence and core concept of social constructivist school of thought. Defining two major tenets of the theory, Alexander Wendt states: *"that the structures of human association are determined primarily by shared ideas rather than material forces, and that the identities and interests of purposive actors are constructed by these shared ideas rather than given by nature."*

Hence the main focus of the book – revolving around its basic research question – is to suggest policy parameters which could become as starting point for the Pakistan to rise as proud and prosperous nation in the world. As also argued by the author that the proposed political, economic and security model may encompass numerous shortcomings but the book itself provides a new food for thought to researchers and analysts. Furthermore, it shows light at end of the tunnel to those Pakistani citizens who think that they have exhausted their chances of taking-off as politically proud and economically prosperous nation.

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I owe my greatest debt of gratitude to Almighty Allah for granting me the strength to undertaking and successfully completing this book.

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I consulted and interviewed many people during the course of writing this book and sought their precious views. I appreciate and acknowledge the valuable contribution they made in finalizing this volume.

It would rather be unfair if I do not make a mention of my friends Lt Col (retired) Ashjar and Lt Col (retired) Sohail Shazad for their marathon discussions on the subject and assistance in the proof reading of the draft.

A special note of appreciation to my Mrs. and children who patiently tolerated my creation work with equanimity. Thanks would hardly be enough.

Arshad Mahmood

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List of Abbreviations

ADBP	Agriculture Development Bank of Pakistan
BD	Basic Democracy
AJK	Azad Jammu and Kashmir
AUC	Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia (United Self-defence of Columbia)
CARs	Central Asian Republics
CENTO	Central Treaty Organization
CFR	Council on Foreign Relations
CJ	Chief Justice
CNG	Compressed Natural Gas
CoG	Centre of Gravity
COIN	Counterinsurgency
CTBT	Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty
DC	Deputy Commissioner
DCO	District Coordination Officer
DG	Director General
DMG	District Management Group
Dr	Doctor
E.U.	European Union
ECP	Election Commission of Pakistan
EDO	Executive District Officer
EEZ	Exclusive Economic Zone
ELN	National Liberation Army
EPA	Environment Protection Agency
EU EOM	European Union Election Observation System
FAFEN	Fare and Free Election Network
FARC	Revolutionary Armed Forces of Columbia
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Area
FC	Frontier Corps
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDP	Gross Domestic Product

GNP	Gross National Product
IFES	International Foundation of Electoral System
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IOK	Indian Occupied Kashmir
IP Project	Iran-Pakistan Gas Pipeline Project
IPPs	Independent Power Producers
IR	International Relations
IRA	Irish Republican Army
km	Kilometer
KPK	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
LFO	Legal Framework Order
LG	Local Government
LG Plan	Local Government Plan
LGO	Local Government Ordinance
LoC	Line of Control
LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Ealam
MAF	million acre feet
mbpd	million barrels per day
ML&C	Military Land and Cantonments
MNA	Member National Assembly
MPA	Member Provincial Assembly
Mr.	Mister
NA	National Alliance / National Assembly
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NFA	Net Foreign Assets
NGO(s)	Non-Government Organization(s)
NIPP	National Infrastructure Protection Plan
NIT	National Investment Trust
NRB	National Reconstruction Bureau
NRF	National Response Framework
NRS	National Recruitment Service
NTS	National Testing Service
OHS	Office of Homeland Security

PBHM	Peace be upon Him
PCSD	Policy for the Consolidation of Democratic Security
PIA	Pakistan International Airline
PM	Prime Minister
PML(N)	Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
PML(Q)	Pakistan Muslim League (Quaid-e-Azam)
PPP	Pakistan Peoples Party
PTI	Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaff
SEATO	South East Asian Treaty Organization
sq km	Square Kilometer
TAPI	Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India
the U.S.	the United States
TSD	Technical Support Division
UN	United Nations
UN DESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affair
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNO	United Nations Organization
UPFA	United People Freedom Alliance
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WB	World Bank
WEF	World Economic Forum
WOT	War on Terror
WTC	World Trade Centre
WTO	World Trade Organization

INTRODUCTION

The Book Road Map

Economic prosperity, political stability and national pride are derived endogenously through institutional building of a state.

Hypothesis

“How can we carve a proud and prosperous Pakistani nation?”

What are the basic ingredients of a great nation?
What are different ideological, political, peaceful and economic world models and how have they achieved these standards?

What are the strengths and weaknesses of Pakistan which dictate its potentials and obstruct its way in becoming a great nation?

Which are the best suited political, economic and security models for Pakistan to adopt?

What all measures can ensure generation of true essence of democratic culture, economic prosperity, and internal peace and stability in the country?

What evolutionary and revolutionary measures can help in strengthening our states institutions and inculcating sense of pride as citizens of the state?

Questions addressed in the book

“It was the best of times, it was the worst of times. . . . it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair, we had everything before us, we had nothing before us, some of its noisiest authorities insisted on its being received, for good or for evil, in the superlative degree of comparison only”

Charles Dickens in ‘A Tale of Two Cities’

THE BOOK ROAD MAP

The Framework

In the history of a nation there are always good and bad times. Rise and fall of civilizations, as well making and breaking of nations are natural phenomenon. But only those nations keep their identity intact which show resilience and do not fluster during crises. Charles Dickens in his famous novel titled, "A Tale of Two Cities" affirms his conviction on resurgence and transformation of both individuals and societies. Through various characters, the novelist depicts opposing circumstances, in individual as well as societal level, due to which they remain committed in renaissance of their destiny. He says: "It was the best of times, it was the worst of times. . . . it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair, we had everything before us, we had nothing before us, some of its noisiest authorities insisted on its being received, for good or for evil, in the superlative degree of comparison only."¹

The process of nation building or the course of transformation of a body of people – carrying different religious, cultural and social values – into one unit, called "nation" is rather quite intricate in nature. Inversely, the disintegration of a nation needs no special effort and time. One wrong decision at strategic level can nullify the accomplishment of one hundred years. Former Soviet Union was a great global power and one balancing factor in the bipolar world order before 1991. The natural instinct of geographical expansion – a relentless quest for "world domination"² – and the historic thirst for warm water port forced the Kremlin Empire to commit the strategic blunder of invading Afghanistan in 1979. This one irrational choice proved to be the beginning of the end, of world largest communist empire, and transformation of world from bipolar to unipolar order.

The role of Saddam Hussain in Iraq had also been that of a destroyer. His one decision of launching adventurous voyage

on neighbouring Kuwait in 1990 initiated Iraq's nose-down trajectory in international community and sufferings of the whole Iraqi nation. His decision of invading Kuwait, by no means, passed the litmus test under Max Weber rationality model.

The evaluation of history of proud and prosperous nations suggests that they had travelled a long way in achieving the current stature on the world canvas. Moreover, historic profile of most of the nations is neither worth praising nor worth following. Their records show mixture of joys and miseries, treaties and tussles, and achievements and disappointments. However, they learnt through hard ways in shaping their national character.

Pakistan came into existence as the first ideological state in 1947. Initially it lacked resources but gradually, it became the world 7th nuclear power in 1998. Being situated on strategically important junction – the heart of Asia and two energy corridors to the west – Pakistan has always been focus for the great global players. However, Pakistan's economic, security and political situation has shown a constant downward trend in the recent past which apart from lowering the national morale to a disappointing level, has also tarnished its image abroad.

It's hard to believe that a state like Pakistan can ill perform when its geography alone is the most attractive in the world. Apart from geostrategic location, Pakistan has enormous resources to rise as a great nation. It possesses the world 2nd largest salt mine, 5th largest gold mine, 5th largest coal reserves and 7th largest copper mines. Furthermore, Pakistan is 5th largest in cotton and 11th largest wheat producer, 11th largest rice, and 12th largest milk producer in the world.³

Experts believe that Pakistan's potentials are tremendous but there is a dire need of strategizing the national preferences. The prevailing gloomy national picture – though part of the natural phenomena of rise and fall of nations –

does demand to concentrate ideas for reviving Pakistan's national pride.

The main underlying principle which has served as a motivating factor for writing this book is the existing country environment. The constantly deteriorating law and order situation, the ever falling economic graph, corrupt and inefficient political setup, inflation, energy crises and above all absence of social justice, are few contributing factors towards the creation of a disappointing atmosphere. Academically speaking Pakistan presents marvellous statistics of a rising nation state. Out of 196 member states listed United Nations charter, Pakistan is the 6th most populous country located at the crossroads of the strategically important regions of South Asia, Central Asia and Western Asia with numerous potentials. The diverging mismatch between its potentials and performance does demand the academic circles to investigate the reasons of dichotomy and suggest a roadmap of a glorious future.

The basic question on which the whole study in the book revolves is quite simple but ambitious one. It states: "How can we make Pakistan as a proud and prosperous nation?" The study has intentionally not been based on the enquiry of Pakistan's potentials of becoming a great nation! It is presumed that the answer of the question is definitely affirmative which helps in commencing the research on an optimistic note. Some of the other questions addressed in the book include the following:-

- What are the basic ingredients of a great nation?
- What are different ideological, political, peaceful and economic world models and how have they achieved these standards?
- What are the strengths and weaknesses of Pakistan which dictate its potentials and obstruct its way in becoming a great nation?
- Which are the best suited political, economic and security models for Pakistan to adopt?

- What all measures can ensure generation of true essence of democratic culture, economic prosperity, and internal peace and stability in the country?
- What evolutionary and revolutionary measures can help in strengthening our states institutions and inculcating sense of pride as citizens of the state?

Various strands of neoclassical realism provide a linkage between the international system and the internal dynamics of states. Apart from systematic and cognitive variables, the neoclassical theory of realism focuses on significance of domestic variables in shaping a state's behaviour in international arena. For analyzing the prevailing situation of the country, the focus of the book is on the performance of the state's institutions especially the political, economic and security institutions. Hence, the hypothesis set forward for the research says: "Economic prosperity, political stability and national pride are derived endogenously through institutional building of a state."

The stated hypothesis suggests two assumptions: ONE, strong and efficient state institutions are the sole reasons of all those nations which have shown positive indicators of progress; and, TWO, all those nations whose growth has been slow – out of pace with rest of the world – or has shown a negative trend, have not focussed on building of strong states' institutions.

Hence according to the hypothesis, a "state" is the "independent variable" which remains the focus and main theme of the book. The normative values of "prosperity", "stability" and "pride" are thus "dependent variables", whereas, the degree of strength of "states' institutions" is the "intervening variable." Stronger the states institutions, the more prosperous and stable the state and more proud a nation will be.

The term, "institutional building" denotes measures to ensure maximum output of a state's departments and their ability to take independent decisions – free from political and

social compulsions. The process of optimising the performance of the state's institutions is directly linked with the desire of making Pakistan a proud and prosperous nation. It will only be possible if the citizens of the country perform (both individually and collectively) to the best of their abilities and potentials. The basis of the hypothesis is Iqbal's verse – *HAR FARD HAY MILLAT KEY MUQADIR KA SITARA* – which symbolizes each and every member of the society as an instrument of its destiny.

The book aims at delineating the concept of a nation-state with special reference to its contextual contours and its functioning as a unitary actor in the anarchic international system. The scope of the research conducted in the book is to sketch an insight of selected model states for accomplishment of following objectives: (1) to **spot** various characteristics, significant in laying the foundations of a nation's global rise; (2) to **evaluate** national characteristics of various model states viz-a-viz the global standards of proud and prosperous nations; (3) to **analyse** Pakistan's case study so as to identify its shortcomings and potentials as an emerging nation; and, (4) to **inquire** about the contemporary security, economic and political environment of the country and suggest a way forward with the aim to revive peace and security in Pakistan, uplift its image internationally, and stimulate economic development.

The book is an attempt to excavate various reasons of failure of a nation-state both domestically and abroad. The study becomes even significant when a state like Pakistan, with numerous potentials, fails to perform well. A very few scholars have touched this vital subject related to the nation building process. Whatsoever, literature is available on the issue, it either encompasses a lot of criticism – following pessimist approach, lacking in-depth inquiry and as an outcome of personal experience – or fails to provide a roadmap to follow.

It is also unfortunate that Pakistani scholars have not contributed much in this regard. The foreign pundits of

international politics have also been biased in citing their opinion without considering Pakistan's internal and external dynamics. It is also a fact that the major factor for the country's dismal situation is the involvement of great global players' in the South Asian region. This factor has never been highlighted by the foreign researchers. Hence, conduct of an empirical research in a realist paradigm and evaluation of the point of view of all stakeholders is of paramount importance.

Nexus to above, the study carried out in this book shall not only be a valuable addition in the existing literature but the proclamation of Pakistan's perspective in international forum as well.

Methodology

An effort has been made to keep the book precise, comprehensive and objective in nature. The study is not solely academic in nature aimed at general advancement of knowledge, rather, suggesting a plausible course of action to follow.

It is basically a descriptive research which employs a comparative analysis of various nations' response to crisis moments of their history. Apart from its descriptive character, the research is also qualitative and analytical in nature which makes use of both primary as well as secondary data. However, quantitative approach has also been used in verifying and testing certain assumptions.

Qualitative approach has been employed to analyse the *raison d'être* of nations rise and fall, explore Pakistan's potentials weighing them with its performance as a unitary actor in the world politics, and making some doable recommendation.

Both primary and secondary sources have been used in the study. For utilizing primary sources, one to one interviews and discussions with resource persons and subject specialists have been conducted for understanding the issue and shaping

opinion. Other credible material, in the form of treaties, official documents and agreements, has also been utilized.

As regards to secondary sources the major reliance has been on books, research papers, journals, credible newspapers and authentic internet sources.

Using the triangulation method, the IR theories of realism and social constructivism form the basis of the research. The exponent of offensive realism, John Mearsheimer argues that it makes good strategic sense for states to gain power to ensure their ultimate aim of survival in the anarchic world. Realists believe that the power is based on the material capabilities of a state, including both the military and socio-economic ingredients. Realists term the socio-economic ingredients as the latent power, based on the state's wealth and size of its overall population. The application of offensive realism would help in exploring world models and worldly accepted indicators of growth and power. It would also be beneficial in conducting a comparative study of Pakistan's potentials with international standards and inquiring the root-causes of existing wide gap between the country's efficiency and ability index.

A number of scholars from Social Constructivist school of thought believe that the most important aspect of international relations is social and not material as defined by realists. They argue that it is a set of ideas, a body of thought, a system of norms, arranged by certain people at a particular time and place which help the nations in defining their identity in the world canvas.

The forerunner theorists of social constructivism like Alexander Wendt, Anthony Giddens and Immanuel Kant would serve as beacon house in formulating a road map for Pakistan's behaviour in domestic as well international plane.

In order to develop basic conceptual understanding of the issue, and establish a link between theoretical framework and methodological focus, following available literature has been reviewed:-

Why Nations Fail

The book entitled “Why Nations Fail”, co-authored by Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson explores and answers the question that has mystified the experts for centuries: why are some nations rich and others poor, divided by wealth and poverty, health and sickness, food and famine? A provocative stuff – backed by lots of brain power and historic examples – the book focuses on the complex joint evolution of political and economic institutions.

The authors brilliantly and engagingly evaluate various theories – geography, culture and ignorance – which draw a dividing line between rich and poor nations. The geography theory claims that the great divide between the rich and poor countries is created by geographical differences. Many poor countries, such as those of Africa, Central America and South Asia, are situated between the tropics of Cancer and Capricorn. Rich nations, in contrast, tend to be in temperate latitude.⁴ The cultural hypothesis, on the other hand, relates prosperity to culture.⁵ The advocates of culture theory believe that the nations which lack work ethics, believe in witchcraft and magic – such as African countries – remain poor; and the countries which possess good work ethics and rely on modern technologies do progress economically. Perhaps it is the influence of English culture that is important and explains why countries such as the United States, Canada and Australia are so prosperous?⁶

The final and the most important is the ignorance theory which asserts that world inequality exists because nations or their leaders do not know how to make poor nations rich?⁷

The authors thoroughly examine the above theories from all angles and finally conclude that the reasons of states failure lie in poor performance of state institutions. As they say: the most common reason why nations fail today is because they have extractive institutions.⁸ The recommended solution which the authors prescribe for success of a nation again lies in strengthening of states’ institutions – “institutions,

institutions, institutions”, is the loud call made in Chapter-13 of the book.

The arguments given in the book are quite relevant to the prevailing conditions of Pakistan and the given theories can be applied to find out the root-causes of the country’s precarious political, economic and internal security conditions.

Address of the Founder of Pakistan Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah on 11th August 1947 to 1st Constituent Assembly

The most vital document which forms the basis of this book is the historic address of the father of the nation to Pakistan’s first constituent assembly on August 11, 1947.⁹ The address truly suggests as how visionary the great leader was in diagnosing the exact causes of rise and falls of nation-states. Regrettably, the issues, related to newly emerged state of Pakistan, highlighted by the father of the nation sixty-six years ago are still the same, in the same order of priority but with much more serious intensity.

The first remark made by the Quaid, was regarding sovereignty of the assembly and its political power in taking independent decisions. He also stressed upon maintaining law and order – as the first and foremost duty of the state – so as to protect the life, property and religious beliefs of its subjects.

The next observation of the Quaid-e-Azam was concerning corruption and bribery as the biggest curse in a states’ machinery hindering their progress. He also associated black-marketing, nepotism and jobbery as major factors in nations’ inequalities.

The Quaid vividly expressed his dream of making the state of Pakistan as a happy and prosperous nation by wholly and solely concentrating on the wellbeing of its people especially the poor masses. He also laid extreme emphasis on justice and national unity as the most significant factors in state’s role in domestic and international politics. To him the chief reason of

subjugation of 400 million Indian nation by British was nothing but their divide as Muslim and Hindu communities – even further as Pathans, Punjabis, Shia, Sunnis and so on; and as Brahmins, Vashnavas, Kathris; also as Bengalis and Madrasis etc.

The document would be extremely helpful in understanding the causes of wide gap between Pakistan's vast potentials and past performance. The contents of the address are just not a tool of identification of the country's shortfalls but a complete recipe for its rise as a proud and prosperous nation on the world theatre.

The Idea of Pakistan

The other relevant source in writing this book is Stephen P. Cohan's work titled "The Idea of Pakistan". Professor Cohan – an American political scientist – is prominent expert on Pakistan, India and South Asia. His book "The Idea of Pakistan" presents a much more comprehensive look at the internal history, political dynamics, and external strategic affairs of Pakistan.

Discussing the political behaviour of the country in the past half of the century, the author believes that the continuous domination by the army, through a series of military coups, have drained the country's all other institutions. Moreover, most of the Pakistan's image in international community is what has been formed by its army. Besides, the army also has major share in the country's decision making, especially the matters related to security. From the army's perspective Pakistan needs a safe environment, so some risk-taking is acceptable abroad so as to make Pakistan more secure at home.¹⁰ In order to improve the country's international image, the author believes that the political institution needs to be strengthened.

The author also gives a detailed account of Pakistan's economic behaviour. He believes that the state's economy has never been laid on the strong footings. Commenting on the

nation's economy of Ayub's and Zia's eras – the periods of rich economic growth – he mentions, “the two most dramatic spurts in economic growth during the Ayub and Zia times were accompanied by high level of aid from the United State, military grants from China and subsidies from Saudi Arabia”.¹¹

Examining the country's security situation Cohen says that the Indian and American view of Pakistan as a radical, nuclear-armed Islamist state, sponsoring terrorism, prone to Islamic revolutions are not accurate. He further presents several broad scenarios of the next five to eight years, including: (1) the most extreme, a catastrophic war with India; (2) the most benign, an enlightened democracy at peace with its neighbours; and (3) other scenarios and sub-scenarios in between.

As per the writer Pakistan does not fall in the category of “failed states” but certainly it has failed to come up to the expectations of millions of people.

The book is an extremely useful tool in understanding and analysing the manifestation of Pakistan's institutional performance from a foreign policy perspective.

Centre of Gravity Theory

Carl Von Clausewitz's famous “Centre of Gravity” (CoG) theory on grand strategy amply illustrates the power centre of a nation state. It entrusts into the minds of strategists and explains the contributory factors which adversaries evaluate in measuring strengths and weakness of each other. Clausewitz closely relates his conception of grand strategy with his CoG theory. According to him the CoG is that point in enemy organism – military, political, social etc – at which, should he be defeated, or should he lose it, the whole structure of the nation power will collapse.¹²

Clausewitz in his famous account “The War” has drove the heart of the matter – CoG – quite extensively as hub of all powers and movement of two opponents. As he says, “One

must keep the dominant characteristics of both belligerents in mind. Out of these characteristics, a certain CoG is formed, the hub of all power and movement, on which all depends.”¹³ Quoting some examples of great historic powers, he says, “For Alexander, Gustavus Adolphus, Charles XII and Fredrick the Great, the centre of gravity was their army.”¹⁴

While devolving guidelines in identifying CoG of countries, Clausewitz says, “In small countries subject to domestic strife, the CoG is generally the capital. In small countries that rely on large ones, it is usually the army of their protector. Among alliances it lies in the commonality of interests, and in popular uprising it is the personalities of the leaders and public opinion. It is against these that the energies should be directed.”¹⁵ Then, being very specific, he identifies: “The CoG of the French power lies in its military force and in Paris. To defeat the former in one or more battles, to take Paris and drive the wreck of the France across the Loire, must be the subject of Allies.”¹⁶

The concept of CoG has since been followed as a guiding principle by great powers and alliances including the U.S. Moreover, there are different versions of CoG adopted by nations and alliances suiting their requirements. It is so open to interpretation that analysts can view the same situation in a variety of ways.¹⁷ The universally accepted definition by NATO relates CoG as: Characteristics, capabilities or localities from which a nation, an alliance, a military force or other grouping derives its freedom of action, physical strength or will to fight.¹⁸

In the contemporary era the CoG concept has grown increasingly in the minds of stalwarts of all great armies including the United States of America. Over the last two decades especially, the U.S. military has struggled both to understand the CoG concept as developed by Clausewitz, and to find practical ways to apply it.¹⁹

Pakistan, by virtue of its strategic locations, its historic rivalry with India and various regional and international

developments -- involving great players' interests -- is considered as an important actor in international politics. It's beyond any doubt that its adversaries -- endeavouring to either eliminate Pakistan from world map or destabilize it internally -- have been working long in identifying its CoG and the vulnerable points to disturb its national balance of power and stability.

It's equally important for policymakers in Pakistan to know their country's strengths and weaknesses so as to strengthen its CoG and safeguard the vulnerabilities.

Clausewitz's theory of CoG -- being not a source of strength but a factor of balance²⁰ -- can be of a great help in conduct of the research.

The Strategy of Economic Planning

The book titled "The Strategy of Economic Planning: A Case Study of Pakistan" written by Dr Mahbub ul Haq is an extremely helpful source of intimate understanding the problems of economic planning of underdeveloped countries like Pakistan. The author by virtue of his illustrious career had a deep insight in Pakistan's economic policies and priorities. The book was published in August 1963 -- the period during which the author was an economic advisor to the government of Pakistan.

The author is of the view that the idea of equitable distribution would not help countries like Pakistan in strategizing their economic planning. In his views, "The underdeveloped countries must consciously accept a philosophy of growth, and the best form of social security is the extension of productive employment opportunities to all."²¹

Basing upon the comparative studies of various developed and underdeveloped states, the author -- in chapter-3 -- suggests a long term growth model for Pakistan focused on the ultimate objectives of doubling and quadrupling national

income by Fourth and Sixth Plans respectively. The long-term growth model would serve – what Rostow describes as the stage of “take off”²² – for Pakistan’s economy.

Dr Haq, apart for presenting long-term national models, also evaluates Pakistan’s First and Second Five Years Plans. He finally insinuates a blue-print for Pakistan’s Third Five Year Plan.

By virtue of its rich contents – especially covering the period of peak Pakistan’s economy – the Haq’s book is extremely helpful for chalking out the country’s future economic policy.

Pakistan’s Roller-Coaster Economy: Tax Evasion Stifles Growth

“Pakistan’s Roller-Coaster Economy: Tax Evasion Stifles Growth” written by S Akbar Zaidi is yet an additional source to explore reasons for the prevailing distressing situation of Pakistan economy. S Akbar Zaidi – a social scientist and specialist in political economy – has written numerous books and research papers on issues related to Pakistan economy and development economics. His paper – Pakistan’s Roller-Coaster Economy: Tax Evasion Stifles Growth, published in Carnegie Endowment in September 2010 – focuses on loopholes in Pakistan’s economic growth.

The writer describes that Pakistan’s economy has fluctuated widely between the periods of impressive growth and dismal slumps.²³ The sixty years history of Pakistan economy has followed a pattern of roller-coaster ups and down. The first decade was of “settling down” whereas the second decade had shown higher growth rate. In seventies – due to the nationalization policy – the growth rate was comparatively low but adequate. Zia’s era (1977-1988) saw the return of high growth rates, but it also saw the role of the military in the economy, politics, foreign policy, and in society more generally.²⁴ In the next ten years Pakistan economy remained in dismal situation. During Pervez Musharraf era

Pakistan's economy grew again. However, since 2008 the economic situation has been again disappointing. According to the writer, the foremost reason of Pakistan's impulsive economic behaviour is the state's poor revenue generation. Low tax revenues are in turn caused by tax evasion and a legal structure that allows for too many exemptions and loopholes.²⁵

The writer enumerates and analyses various factors responsible for unravelling growth which include: absence of long-term planning and investment; the roundabout of politics; low emphasis on human capital; and, tax evasion. Out of all the factors the core issue remains tax evasion due to which Pakistan could not achieve sustained economic growth. The writer believes that with a more extensive, transparent, progressive, and equitable tax structure, government revenue could easily double.²⁶

The writer's analysis and policy recommendations would help the researcher in identifying shortfalls in Pakistan's economy and chalking out a strategic plan in resurging economic growth.

Pakistan an Economy of Elitist State

Another useful source in the course of the research is Dr Ishrat Hussain's book titled, "Pakistan – The Economy of an Elitist State." Dr Ishrat Hussain is a seasoned banker and economist who had also served as Governor State Bank of Pakistan from December 1999 to December 2006. By virtue of his vast experience on prize appointments, he has a deep insight of Pakistan's economy. "Pakistan – The Economy of an Elitist State," is Dr Hussain's personal account in which he presents the case study of Pakistan economic developments of the past half century.

In author's view the economic development of the country has affected a small class of elites only, whereas the vast majority of middle and lower middle class has remained deprived of its dividends. The author, apart from presenting

an analytical history and explanation of Pakistan's economic performance in the political context, also shows a comparison of the country's economy with other South Asian and East Asian countries. Dr Ishrat Hussain also outlines an agenda of economic and social reforms for the nation which is based on models of shared economy. Dr Hussain main thrust in the book is bi-fold: one, to witness detonating boom in Pakistan's economy in twenty first century; and two, the economic benefits are not reaped by elites only – rather its dividends reach to all the segments of the society.

The Book Plan

The book has been organised in three parts (seven chapters) wrapping various aspects of a nation's structural behaviour in its domestic affairs as well as a unitary actor in the anarchic international system.

The first part focuses on the conceptual debate and has been divided into three chapters. Chapter One exclusively explains the author's road map about conduct of the study. The chapter amply covers the background of the issue discussed in the book and nature of questions being answered in the book. Besides, various contours of methodology adopted in conducting an objective research have been explained in detail in the chapter. The chapter also covers synopsis of various sources selected as literature for the conduct of the study. Chapter Two exclusively deals with the theoretical framework. It illustrates the theoretical perspective related to nations rise and fall in international arena. It delves further by applying aspects of the two theories of IR and inter-paradigm debate on world accepted core assumptions and the linkage of domestic analogy with the international behaviour. Chapter Three discusses the concept of a state / nation-state and the process of evolution of the present system of states. The chapter also focuses on the internationally recognised standards related to the functioning and behaviour of a state at home and abroad.

Part two of the book has been devoted to Pakistan as a case study and has further been divided into three chapters. This part of the book deals with three important queries: the rundown of Pakistan's institutional performance since its inception in 1947 which has been discussed in Chapter Four; appraisal of the real potential of the country with particular reference to the economic growth – deliberated upon in Chapter Five; and analysis of the marred performance of the state's institutions in Chapter Six.

The third and last part of the book (Chapter Seven) is meant to overview the entire study by extracting major findings and penning-down plausible recommendations.

Notes

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- ² F.S. Northedge ed., *The Foreign Policies of the Powers* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1968), 69.
- ³ The UN, “Food and Agricultural Commodities Production”, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAOSTAT), <http://faostat.fao.org/site/339/default.aspx> (accessed September 26, 2013).
- ⁴ James A. Robinson and Daron Acemoglu, *Why Nations Fail*, (London: Profile Book Limited, 2012), 48.
- ⁵ Ibid: 49.
- ⁶ Ibid: 62.
- ⁷ Ibid: 63.
- ⁸ Ibid: 368.
- ⁹ National Assembly, “Address of the Founder of Pakistan Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah on 11th August, 1947 to 1st Constituent Assembly,” National Assembly, Government of Pakistan, <http://www.na.gov.pk/en/index.php> (accessed April 12, 2013).
- ¹⁰ Stephen P. Cohan, *The Idea of Pakistan* (Washington D. C.: The Brookings Institution, 2009), 129.
- ¹¹ Ibid: 249.
- ¹² Major-General J.F.C. Fuller, *The Conduct of War 1789-1961*, (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode Ltd, 1961), 67.
- ¹³ Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), 703
- ¹⁴ Ibid: 595.
- ¹⁵ Ibid.
- ¹⁶ Fuller, *The Conduct of War 1789-1961*, 68.
- ¹⁷ Joseph L. Strange and Richard Iron, “Centre of Gravity: what Clausewitz really meant?” JFQ Forum, Issue number 35: 24, <http://www.clausewitz.com/bibl/StrangeAndIron-COG-JFQ.pdf> (accessed May 7, 2013).
- ¹⁸ “NATO Glossary of Terms and Definitions,” NATO-2013, 2-C-3, <http://nsa.nato.int/nsa/zPublic/ap/aap6/AAP-6.pdf> (accessed May 5, 2013)

¹⁹ Dr Antulio J. Echevarria II, "Clausewitz Centre of Gravity: Changing our War-fighting Doctrine – Again," US Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute: v, <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/display.cfm?pubID=363>, (accessed May 7, 2013).

²⁰ Ibid: vi

²¹ Mahbub ul Haq, *The Strategy of Economic Planning: A Case Study of Pakistan*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), 32.

²² Ibid: 67.

²³ S. Akbar Zaidi, "Pakistan's Roller-Coaster Economy: Tax Evasion Stifles Growth," *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, policy Brief 88, (September 2010): 2.

²⁴ Ibid: 4.

²⁵ Ibid: 5.

²⁶ Ibid: 9.

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CONCEPTUAL INSIGHT

“the processes whereby international relations conducted by governments have been supplemented by relations among private individuals, groups, and societies that can and do have important consequences for the course of events.

James N. Rosenau

“politics is a struggle for power over men, and whatever its ultimate aim may be, power is its immediate goal and the mode of acquiring, maintaining and demonstrating it determine the technique of political action”

Morgenthau 1965:195

*“this is the system of states, and there are also transactions between businessmen, traders, research workers, television stations, drug peddlers, students and others. . . .
In this model contacts are not only at the boundaries of sovereign states, but between points within.”*

John W Burton

“anarchy is what states make of it.”

Alexander Wendt

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

During the Cold War era, especially in 1980s, the pundits of International Relations (IR) had been engaged in two types of debates: (1) neo-realists and neo-liberalists on application of rationalist economic theory in IR; and (2) rationalists and critical theorists on normative assumptions of neo-realists and neo-liberalist as well the concept of real world in IR. After the fall of the world largest communist empire – Union of the Soviet Russian Republics (USSR) – a new school of thought, called as social constructivists, emerged in the discipline of IR. The rise of constructivists at one hand changed the climax of existing inter-paradigm debates, and on the other, gave birth to a new constructivist approach in IR theories – an approach that challenged the rationalism and positivism of neo-realism and neo-liberalism.¹

Unlike other IR theories which are materialist in nature, the focus of social constructivism (in shorthand: constructivism) is on human awareness or consciousness and its place in the world affairs.² As per the political engineers from social constructivist paradigm, it is not through a material force to constitute a system rather through a set of ideas, a body of thought, a system of norms, which have been arranged by certain people at a particular time and place.³

This new approach gave a fresh life to the ideologies of various political thinkers and social scholars who have been long hallucinating for a peaceful and prosperous domestic and international environment.

Before explaining various contours of social constructivism – as guiding theory of the study – it's imperative to draw a conceptual understanding of diverse IR theories.

Conceptual Paradigm

The study of nations, states, nation-states or countries in international relations covers a wide range of theoretical approaches – both emerged within the subject and borrowed

from other disciplines. The exponents of various schools of thoughts – realist, liberal and social constructivists – possess mixed views on the prevailing international and domestic structure and the role of states and statesmen in the system. The study of various approaches in regard to rise and fall of nations revolves around three fundamental factors: human beings, as basic entity in a state; the prevailing social and political norms of the society; and, the universally accepted standards i.e. the domestic as well international environment in which states operate being its unitary actor.

One of the best illustrations of what is at stake here is Waltz's discussion of causes of wars. In "Man, the State and War," Waltz (1959) argued that three different levels of analysis (or three "images") had been explored in the literature on this subject: (a) human nature, (b) the structure of political system and (c) the nature of international system.⁴ The theorists of international relations have conflicting views on all the above planes of analysis.

Universally Accepted Core Assumptions

All pundits of international relations believe in certain core assumptions about world and domestic politics. They all argue that the world politics operates in an international anarchy – means no world government – whereas, the domestic politics unfolds in hierarchy – means states' governments with overarching authority to take decisions suiting their best national interests. They also assert that in the existing world order, states are unitary and pre-eminent actors who are always concerned about their survival, security and national interests. In the study of international relations, it's all about relations between states. All other actors in the world politics – individuals, international organizations and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) – are either less important or unimportant.⁵

The analysts of the world politics also accord a great value to human nature in determining states relations in

international arena but they do have wide conflicting views which will be discussed in the succeeding paragraphs.

While showing consensus over these core assumptions, there are, however, numerous divisive inter and intra-paradigm debates on the pragmatism delineating these conjectures. The philosophical thinkers – representing diverse ideologies – epitomize irreconcilable approaches in practical manifestation of what they believe about the international order.

Inter-Paradigm Debate on Core Assumptions

Realism or Realpolitik – power politics – is the oldest and most frequently adopted theory of IR.⁶ Realism accentuates a state's imperative of power politics which it follows in pursuit of its national interests. Realism encompasses three fundamental rudiments: statism, survival and self help.⁷ Classical realists believe on the selfish nature of man whereas neo-realists argue on structure of the international system which creates compelling circumstances for state to pursue power politics for safeguarding their national interests.⁸ Realism had remained the dominant theory from end of World War II until at least 1970s when it was challenged by its rival political scientists belonging to the liberal school of thought.

In the 1970s, the classical realism of Claude, Carr, Morgenthau, Niebuhr and others was challenged by liberals, such as Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye.⁹ The liberalists do believe in the core concept of international anarchy but follow a different approach in ensuring international security. As per their thinking, the world peace and balance of power can be best achieved through cooperation and interdependence between states.

By the end of the Cold War, a heated debate between neo-realist and neo-liberalists – on states' relative and absolute gains – dominated the discourse of IR. The disintegration of USSR in 1991, however, prompted the rise of new

“constructivists” school of thought¹⁰ which differs from both neo-realists and neo-liberalists in addressing the core issues related to balance of power, international peace and preserving national interests. Amongst other, one of the main reasons of rise of social constructivism was the analytical failing of both the realists and liberalists on unfolding of the events related to the fall of Kremlin Empire. Even, when Francis Fukuyama proclaimed “the end of history”, he was endorsing the role of ideas – especially the progress of liberal ideas in the world,¹¹ and indirectly promoting the new perspective presented by social constructivists.

It is, however, imperative to note that all the three existing schools of thoughts have conflicting views on the universally accepted core assumptions viz-a-viz the Waltz’s three images of international politics: human nature, international political order and the role of a state as member of the international system. The examination of inter-paradigm arguments merits due consideration for conduct of the research in realist and social constructivism paradigms.

Human Nature

Human beings are basic units of a nation or nation-states. The significance of individuals and collective behaviour of nations in bilateral and multilateral relations cannot be overemphasised. The existing societal environment, culture, norms and ethics contribute in shaping the national behaviour which ultimately determines national character and a state’s ranking in international comity. In this whole phenomenon human nature – especially of elites, who form part of a state’s policy making mechanism – plays an important role and theorists do accord great importance to human nature in international politics. “...when IR scholars talk about roles they are almost always referring to the domestically constituted beliefs of individuals or elites, i.e., unit-level properties.”¹² The inter-paradigm perspective on human nature is cent-percent opposite.

Realists – considering the theory mainly at state level – present pessimistic view of human nature and consider that all human beings are greedy, aggressive, and insecure. Realists also emphasise that human selfishness and power greediness imposes constraints on domestic and international politics. Hence, states' behaviour in inter-state relations remains in commensuration with individual behaviour of their rulers. As Machiavelli puts it, in politics must act as if “all men are wicked and that they will always give vent to the malignity that is in their minds when opportunity offers”¹³

This pessimistic view of human nature is manifested in almost all theories presented in realist paradigm. In realist thinking, since human beings operate in a competitive environment, they are always concerned about their own well-being and always seek power to fulfil their self-set goals. It is particularly evident in politics and especially international politics that: “politics is a struggle for power over men, and whatever its ultimate aim may be, power is its immediate goal and the mode of acquiring, maintaining and demonstrating it determine the technique of political action.”¹⁴ It is due to selfish nature of human being that all realists share the view that inter-state relations are conflicting in nature and conflicts are ultimately resolved through wars.

The followers of liberal philosophy of international relations, on the contrary, have opposite view on human nature. They agree with realists' thoughts of human concerns on their self-interests but they disagree in their approach to resolve the differences. Taking positive view of human nature, liberalists are strongly convinced that human share many common interests which assist them in conflict resolution through peaceful means.¹⁵

The core concern of liberalism is the happiness and contentment of individual human beings.¹⁶ John Locke argued that states existed to underwrite the liberty of their citizens and thus enable them to live their lives and pursue their happiness without undue interference from other people.¹⁷ Unlike realists thinking of IR as the study of government to

government relations, liberalists emphasise on different kinds of actors including the statesmen, private individuals and social organisations who play key role in defining their national ranking in the international community. James Rosenau explains this phenomenon as follows: “the processes whereby international relations conducted by governments have been supplemented by relations among private individuals, groups, and societies that can and do have important consequences for the course of events.”¹⁸

The social constructivists do also possess positive view about the human nature and go further ahead in defining the role of human beings in shaping the world. According to the Italian philosopher Giambattista Vico, the natural world is made by God, but the historical world is made by Man. He further claims that human beings create their own history as well make state. Vico emphasises that: states are artificial creations and the state system is artificial too; it is made by men and women and if they want to, they can change it and develop it in new ways.¹⁹

The same philosophy was further strengthened by Immanuel Kant and Max Weber who relate the world as the world of human interaction – i.e. the social world which is altogether different from the materialist world defined in both realist and liberalist perspective.

Global Anarchy and Domestic Hierarchy

The political scientists of all schools differentiate the international and domestic structure in relations to anarchy. According to the universally accepted core assumptions, the world order is anarchic in nature as all states are independent and sovereign. All states consider survival and security as their supreme national interest which results into competitive international environment. Realists claim that this competition among states is in the form of seeking maximum powers so as to safeguard their national interests and is the main source of anarchy in international system. On domestic front the situation is rather different as there is an hierarchic

order of government system which maintains a state's domestic peace and stability.

The realists do consider anarchy as the basic character of international structure but they also argue that all states are not equal. By virtue of inequality in states – in their sizes, resources, strength and capabilities – realists claim that there is an international hierarchy of power among states.²⁰ Johan Galtung, a Norwegian sociologist, mathematician and the principal founder of the discipline of peace and conflict studies, identifies two of the most glaring facts about this world: the tremendous inequality, within and between nations, in almost all aspects of human living conditions; and the resistance of this equality to change.²¹ He further classifies states into 'Core' or 'Centre' and 'Periphery' nations – representing First and Third World Countries respectively. Galtung calls it all as part of imperialism which he – in a bilateral relations – defines as one way in which the centre nation has power over the periphery nation, so as to bring about a condition of disharmony of interests between them.²² He further explains five types of imperialism – economic, political, military, communication and culture – depending on the type of exchange between core and periphery nations.²³

According to the world-system theory, presented by Immanuel Wallerstein, relations between First and Third World countries as asymmetrical in nature and consider that power and control flow from core to periphery.²⁴ Political thinkers denote relations between First and Third World countries as asymmetrical in nature and consider that power and control flow from core to periphery. The ancient Greek historian and leading classical realist, Thucydides professes that all states, large and small, must adapt to the given reality of unequal power and conduct themselves accordingly.²⁵ The same phenomenon has also been supported by other thinkers of realist paradigm, e.g. Kenneth Neal Waltz – the contemporary leading American neo-realist (who died recently on May 13, 2013) – argues that the state units of an international system are “distinguished primarily by their greater or lesser capabilities.”²⁶ Waltz and John Mearsheimer

– proponent of offensive realism – agree that anarchy (or the international power hierarchy) compels states to compete for power.

Liberalists perspective on international anarchy is similar to realists. However, they argue that the international peace and stability can be ensured with cooperation and interdependence among states. John W. Burton in his famous book “World Society” depicts states in an international system with converging and overlapping interests. Burton calls this model as “cobweb model” of international system which is opposite to realist model of billiard table where states (depicting the billiard balls) repulse each other.²⁷ Burton argues that the conventional world map shows geographical boundaries and does not reflect the behaviour of states. Similarly the diagrammatic and other maps do show the concentration of population as well sea and air routes but one cannot find the information regarding states behaviour, linkages and exits. Burton lays emphasis on the need of such a world map or a conceptual image which should depict the behaviour and linkages among states in the world society which he defines as the “cobweb model” of states system. He further argues: “This is the system of states, and there are also transactions between businessmen, traders, research workers, television stations, drug peddlers, students and others. . . . In this model contacts are not only at the boundaries of sovereign states, but between points within.”²⁸

Similarly, Woodrow Wilson deviating from the realist depiction of international system with “a jungle of chaotic power politics,” relates it to “a zoo of regulated and peaceful intercourse.”²⁹ The whole phenomenon supports the liberal perspective on maintaining international peace and balance of power.

The debate between neo-realists and neo-liberalists mainly revolves around relative and absolute gains. The former argue that states are obsessed with relative gains – means what they gain in relations to their rivals – which causes anarchy; whereas the latter claim that if states focus on their absolute

gains – means what they gain irrespective of their rivals – the anarchic world order can turn to be stable, secure and peaceful.

The perception of constructivists about the global anarchic order is somewhat different from both the neo-realists and neo-liberalists philosophy. Alexander Wendt argues: “anarchy is what states make of it.”³⁰ As per the social constructivist perspective, systems of shared ideas, beliefs and values also have structural characteristics, and that they exert a powerful influence on social and political action.³¹

The constructivists illustrate that the world security system consists of physical properties such as territories, populations and weapons etcetera. But the physical entities are secondary in nature as compared to the intellectual facets which shape their practical manifestation. Social constructivists argue that: “it is the ideas and understandings according to which those assets are conceived, organized and used – e.g. in alliances, armed forces, etc.”

State – the Unitary Actor in World Politics

The inter- and intra-paradigm debate on states – as unitary actors in international system – also contains assorted opinions. All the leading realists consider that the normative core of realism is national security and state survival.³² They also argue on the basic scepticism that nations and states always accord top priority to their national interests. Niccolo Machiavelli, a realist and renaissance Italian political theorist, in his famous book “The Prince”, strongly emphasises that all states must be prepared to sacrifice their international obligations on the altar of their own self-interests if the two come into conflicts, and that the only fundamental responsibility of states-people is to advance and defend their national interests.

So, in order to achieve their supreme political responsibility i.e. survival and defence of national interests, all nations seek to acquire power. Machiavelli portrays overriding

assumption that the world is a dangerous place and the state leaders should be simultaneously lions and foxes – symbols of power and cunningness respectively – in discharging their state duties and organising themselves into a capable and effective state by means of which they can defend their interests.³³

Realists also uphold that nation-states in respect to their national commitment are not bound to fulfil universal moral principles – which they call as the central normative doctrine of classical and neo-classical realism. For Hans Joachim Morgenthau – the leading twentieth century neo-classical realist – universal principles cannot be applied to the actions of states in their abstract universal formulation.³⁴ He further argues that the art of statecraft is thus the clear-headed knowledge that political ethics and private ethics are not the same, that the former cannot be and should not be reduced to the latter, and the key to effective and responsible statecraft is to recognize this fact of power politics and learn to make best of it.³⁵

The liberal school of thought does recognize states as unitary actors in international system and their preference to secure supreme national interests. However, liberalists differ from realist scholars in securing national interests. Instead relying upon the hard-power – military means – the neo-liberalism focuses on identification of commonality of interests while dealing with other states. Neoliberals emphasise that states are interested in getting to the ‘Pareto Frontier’ – the point at which all states maximise their gains through cooperation.³⁶ Quoting examples from recent history, neo-liberalists claim that in the post-war period both Japan and Germany refrained from adopting the conventional military approach and solely focused on increased interdependence. It helped them in emerging as the most economically successful countries after the end of World War II. In contrast the former USSR and the U.S. trailed military means in their inter-state relations which amounted to overburdening their national resources. According to

Rosecrance, the end of the Cold War has made the traditional option less urgent and less attractive.³⁷

The social constructivists do share similar view with other theorists on the core assumption of states as unitary actors in the international arena. However, their views on the interaction and cooperation with other states are closer to neo-liberal paradigm with the addition that: "it is the very interaction with others that create and instantiate one structure of identities and interests rather than another."³⁸ On the question of security and survival both realist and constructivists advocate similar view but variant approaches in fulfilment of the national objectives.

Wendt in his book, "Social Theory of International Politics" suggests three model of states behaviour in the prevailing anarchic world order: Hobbesian, Lockean and Kantian. In Hobbesian culture, the logic is "war of all against all" – means that states consider each other as enemy and resort to the military means in conflict resolution. In Lockean model states do consider each other as rival but also consider the other states' right to exist – meaning by that states refrain from initiating hostile action against others. In the third model i.e. the Kantian culture, states view each other as friends, settle disputes peacefully and support each other in the case of threat by a third party.³⁹

Domestic Analogy with International Behaviour

Most philosophers of international relations view that a state's behaviour in international arena has direct linkage with its domestic political, social and economic culture. Charles Beitz – an American political theorist – in his famous account "Political Theory and International Relations" – claims that: "perceptions of international relations have been more thoroughly influenced by the analogy of states and persons than any other device."⁴⁰ What Beitz want to prove is the importance of a state's performance in its national environment before it seeks its position in international affairs. Simply, it is nothing but discharging government

responsibilities as well the institutional functions, to the best interests of its people and state – in other words “good governance”.

The same view point has also been strongly supplemented by other political thinkers including Thomas Hobbes in his world reckoned “Leviathan” and Hans Morgenthau in “Scientific Man versus Power Politics” and “Politics among Nations”. In 1982, Andrew Linklater – an international relations academic, and Professor of International Politics at Aberystwyth University, London – stated that “a progressive development of international relations necessitates the transference of understandings of social relations from their original domestic setting to international arena.”⁴¹ Linklater’s views clearly indicate that the international phenomenon cannot be understood unless the existing ideas about the domestic environment are not fully comprehended.

The above motion in favour of domestic analogy has also been widely criticised by many other scholars who advocate that the domestic environment have no linkage with a state’s behaviour in the world amphitheatre. Among others, E.H. Carr has been the leading opponent of the philosophy of domestic analogy. In his classic “Twenty Years Crisis, 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations”, he commented that the analogy is associated with “all what is wrong”. Similarly, Moorhead Wright has negated the theory and emphasised that relations among states are dictated by the international environment and not the domestic issues. He further criticises the philosophy by relating it to “problematic analogy between domestic and international society.”⁴²

Despite having a number of opinions against the philosophy of domestic analogy, the specialists of academia have accepted – in one way or the other – the domestic political, economic and social linkage with the prevailing international environment and interstate relations.

The next question, bothering researchers and political thinkers, pertains to “what precisely domestic analogy is?” Most common concept of domestic analogy pertains to the correlation of domestic experience – drawn within a state – with worldly accepted norms and values. The word analogy has a number of dictionary meanings such as: similarities, equivalence, correlation, affinity or correspondence. However, the concept and the logic of the domestic analogy has been widely accepted by political and social thinkers as: “presumptive reasoning (or a line of argument embodying such reasoning) about international relations based on the assumption that since domestic and international phenomena are similar in a number of respect, a given proposition which holds true domestically, but whose validity is as yet uncertain internationally, will also hold true internationally.”⁴³ Certain other writers like Hedley Bull, have also given realistic and pragmatic explanations of “domestic analogy” which correlate the conditions of an orderly social life and reproduction of institutional performance of domestic society at a universal scale.

All the political thinkers of liberal paradigm believe that a state’s stature in the world society is by and large determined by its domestic dynamics. This they call as inside-out approach in which endogenous determines the exogenous.⁴⁴ To put it another way, liberals believe that democratic society, in which civil liberties are protected and market relations prevail, can have an international analogue in the form of a peaceful global order.⁴⁵

The simple one line explanation of the concept assumes that domestic and international functioning have certain unambiguous and embedded similarities.

The focus of the research is on the process of a nation making which falls purely in domestic sphere. And in the case-study of Pakistan, the linkage of domestic environment with internationally accepted values cannot be relegated. Moreover, the concept of a nation making and a state’s relative position in the world society is not altogether a

domestic subject. A nation or a nation-state is not what its leaders and citizens proclaim to be, rather what kind of image it carries in international landscape. It is the question of perception about a nation and its values rooted deep into the mind of international actors especially the policymakers and elites while operating in bilateral and multilateral settings.

Nation Building Process – Few Global Models

The transformation of a large body of people – with varying religious, cultural, social creeds – into one nation is not an easy assignment. The process may spread over centuries of efforts and sacrifices. On the other hand, the disintegration of a nation is not a specialized job. One wrong decision at strategic level can do the rest. The strategic blunder of the former Soviet Union to invade Afghanistan, proved to be the beginning of the end of world largest communist empire and transformation of world from bipolar to unipolar order.

The process of a nation making can easily be compared with construction of a house. House construction is at one end, a pain taking and time consuming phenomena, and on the other hand cannot be termed as an individual effort – many hands join together to make a house. A collective effort ranging from architect to labour, mason to carpenter, electrician to plumber and so many others, finally turn one's dream into reality. Inversely, one needs no such expertise while breaking a house – a single person with a hammer in his hand is enough. It is equally applicable to nations and nation-states. The role of Saddam Hussain in Iraq had also been that of a hammer man. A country with world's fifth largest proven petroleum reserves,⁴⁶ capable to produce up to 3.5 million barrels per day (mbpd) and probable averaged GPD of \$38 billion in the 1989 suffered worst catastrophic economic decline and a very heavy toll of human lives. This all began to occur since Saddam Hussain took one irrational decision to invade Kuwait in 1990.

The study of the proud and prosperous nations also reveals that they were by no means in the same shape in which they are visible today. Neither is the track record of few – who proclaim to be most the civilized nations today – worth praising and worth following. However, they kept growing and learnt through hard ways in shaping their national and international behaviour.

United State of America is one nation which too start from a scratch and reached to the zenith of their glory. Americans claim to be a proud and prosperous nation, but they were not the not the same as they are now. The American history speaks that it remained part of British Empire for 174 years. It fought a long and sustained war with British and finally the Fourth of July (1776) became Independence Day in the United State.⁴⁷ It had to pass through various critical junctures of history before attaining the status of today's sole hegemony.

Initially, it was a confederation of thirteen colonies – each with its own money, army, navy, independent tax collection system and direct trade with other countries – but they called it “a nation of thirteen countries.”⁴⁸ After independence, the U.S. followed an unsuccessful diplomacy of non-interference and went to war with Britain in 1812 which proved to be a bloody battle in the history of newly emerged country. One part of the British army had reached Washington, D.C. threatening the new U.S. capital. Soldiers set fire to the president's mansion. President James Madison fled as the White House burned.⁴⁹

Though the result of the war went in favour of the U.S. as it was able to compel Britain to sign a Treaty of Peace but the war at one hand injured its feeble economy and on the other exposed the internal differences amongst the states. Side by side, its population kept on increasing with more numbers of colonies joining the confederations. Between 1812 and 1852, the population tripled. As the country grew, differences among the states became more obvious. The United States was a country of civilized cities and lawless frontiers. The United States loved freedom but also tolerated slavery. The

differences began to create problems.⁵⁰ By 1850, the union was over seventy years of age – much more mature as compared to Pakistan today – with a lot of opportunities but full of contrast. Their internal variances grew to such an extent that the Northern and Southern states plunged into a bloody civil war from 1861 to 1865 over the issue of prohibiting slavery in territories. The American Civil War was the largest and most destructive conflict in the Western world between the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 and the onset of World War I in 1914. The war cost was 6,25,000 lives – nearly as many American soldiers as died in all the other wars in which the country has fought combined.⁵¹ Later, President Lincoln was also killed and Vice President Andrew Johnson became the President. He, being Southerner, ordered pardon to many Southerners and introduced various reforms including granting political rights to Southerners.

The agonies of American people did not cease here as they remained divided over racial issues – the white Southerners being in power always suppressed the black Southerners. The races lived separately in the South for next 100 years.⁵²

Despite all their societal miseries, the United States of America kept on growing both in size and economy. Its frontiers become less wild with the increase in number and size of cities. The increased number of factories, mills and improved transportation facilities supported with network of roads attracted a large integer of immigrants. By the start of 20th century, the U.S. had seen growth, civil war, economic prosperity and hardships. On the negative side, it often seemed that political power belonged to a few corrupt officials and their friends in business⁵³ – the same situation which is prevailing in Pakistan today.

Three things were quite obvious at this stage in the history of the U.S.: first, despite all the shortcomings they were in a position to play an important role in the world politics; second, there prevailed a sense of progressiveness at all levels; and, thirdly, they remained committed to democracy.

Later, they played pivotal role in both the world wars and experienced the great economic depression of 1929. In October 1929, the good times ended with the collapse of the stock market and an economic depression. Businesses and factories shut down. Banks failed. Farms suffered. By November 1932, 20 percent of Americans had been without jobs.⁵⁴ But they again recovered and kept the flight of their prosperity.

Today the United State of America is the sole global authoritative monarchy after defeating the former Soviet Union in the Cold War. The journey which it started with 13 little-known colonies has reached to 52 most advanced states of the world. Its population of 300 million people – representing almost every national and ethnic group of the world – calls themselves as proud American. They achieved this status because they passed the litmus test of the time.

The history of contemporary world model of civilization, democracy and human rights – the Europe – is also littered with barbarianism. Starting from as early as Diaokhi-Assyrian War in 1112 BC up to the end of Second World War in 1945, there were hardly few year which has not witnessed bloodshed either in the shape of wars between European nations, civil wars within European nations or wars between a European and a non-European nations. In most of the times, the theatre of war was in Europe.

Furthermore, the Europeans were not only quite famous for introducing and applying cruellest “methods of torture” but also well renowned for inventing, and exporting the most lethal “tools of tortures” across the globe. The depiction of such methods and exhibition of such tools can be seen today in their museums – e.g. Madame Tussauds Wax Museum, London.

Interestingly, it was 17 June, 2010 when the 47 members European Union passed a resolution banning the trade of tools and equipments designed for torture. The European Parliament’s resolution on “Tools of Torture” urges swift

action to prohibit the use and sale of torture instruments, including fixed wall restraints, metal thumb cuffs, and electroshock sleeves that can be used to deliver shocks of 50,000 volts to prisoners.⁵⁵

But they learnt from their experiences and made tremendous progress in all spheres of life including human rights, political, economical and technological fields.

China – the rising global power – was once a drugging nation. Historically speaking, the Chinese national character has always remained submissive in nature – defensive from a realist perspective. It has never ruled any foreign nation. Rather, China has been ruled several times by foreigners – e.g. Toba (A.D. 386-534); Khitan (907-1125); Jurchen (1115-1260); Mongols (1234-1368); and Manchu (1644-1911) were all foreigners. The 1949 revolution gave a new life to the same nation which today is an rising power and the only potential threat to the U.S. sole power.

Similarly, the former Soviet Union had no universal identity but became the one of the super powers in bipolar international system and the world largest communist empire before it collapsed in 1991.

Pakistan as Case-study

The story of Pakistan is somewhat different. It emerged on world canvas as the first ideological state in 1947. Taking a start with scanty resources, it became the world 7th nuclear power in 1998. Being situated on strategically important junction – the heart of Asia and main trade routes – Pakistan has been focus for the great global players. Unfortunately, Pakistan's economic, security and political situation has seen a constant downward trend in the recent past which apart from lowering the national morale to a disappointing level, has also tarnished its image abroad.

Seeing Pakistan's geography and potentials, its ill-performance is a point of concern for analysts at home and

abroad. Apart from huge potentials in agriculture and manufacturing sector, the country also possesses moderate energy reserves – coal reserves of Thar alone are 175 million tons.⁵⁶ All these factors make the case of Pakistan strong in rising as a proud and prosperous nation.

Experts believe that Pakistan's potentials are tremendous but there is a dire need of strategizing the national preferences. The prevailing gloomy national picture does demand to concentrate ideas reviving the country's pride.

Need for a Constructivist Perspective

The principal framework for analysing a specific case-study in international relations is the realist paradigm. Realism, more specifically Structural Realism does highlight various contours of a nation-state's institutional performance, and Offensive Realism for the state concern about security and survival in comparison to available international models and linkage of domestic political, economic, social and other dynamics – called “domestic analogy” – with the universal theatre. Such a realist framework is valuable in understanding the capacity building of national institutions – e.g. economic, political and security institutions – as well the ingredients which transform a group of people into a proud and prosperous nation. However, it fails to explain a state's behavioural transformation based upon certain key drivers such as ideas, perceptions, role of leadership and quest for national identity.

On account of the above mentioned, the Constructive perspective is incorporated within the theoretical framework to fill in the gaps of Structural and Offensive Realism.

Linkage between Offensive as well Structural Realism and Social Constructivism

The IR theory of Social Constructivism concedes the core assumptions of the neo-realism and neo-liberalism, and the existence of an international anarchic structure. It, however,

downplays the role of material forces which make the international structure as anarchic and emphasizes the part played by ideas in shaping the relationship between states within the system. "We make the World what it is by interacting with each other and saying what we say to each other."⁵⁷ This idea is summed up in Alexander Wendt's axiom that "Structure is what we make of it".⁵⁸

Social constructivism also best explains the domestic analogy with international environment and helpful in determining the relative position of a state in the world society.

Role of Ideas

The logic contained in the theory of Social Constructivism is not based upon some materialistic explanations. It illustrates the role of ideas in shaping identities and interests of states as unitary actors in the world order, and consequently their actions to safeguard their national interests and enhance their image world over – thereby transforming them into the real concept of a nation-state. Alexander Wendt dismisses some traditional red herrings, such as the dichotomy of explanation by material interests as opposed to ideas.⁵⁹ Ideas help nations in articulating their perceptions in the minds of their contemporary actors, and also making correct behavioural judgement while operating in bilateral or multilateral environment. A positive perception of the other actor leads to congenial relations. Similarly, a negative perception compounded by threat perception leads to antagonistic, or at best, fractured ties.

Relationship between History and Identity

Nations strive to secure and retrieve (if lost) their national identity to prove their individuality among other member states. Two factors are important in shaping a state's national identity: its history; and its interactions with other states. The U.S. identity is based upon their self-identification as "exceptionalism" in the unipolar world system. The

underlying rationale remains a firm belief that American values and norms are more esteemed than those of other states and systems and therefore ought to be perpetuated beyond the borders of the state.⁶⁰

On the contrary, China's national identity constitutes a tortuous and riotous history which most Chinese consider themselves as victims of exploitation by the West.

Both identities are naturally constituted to contest the other. The U.S. desires to sustain the US-centred World Order, whereas China wants to regain its lost prestige and defending its sovereignty.

Summing Up

The study of a nation making – with specific reference to Pakistan as case-study – is a vigorous debate. Historic rhetoric of international models, suggest that almost all nations suffer from bad patches in their history. Only those nations survive on the world arena and even attain pride and prosperity which show resilience, and whose leaderships take correct decisions at the critical junctures.

Above all, the evaluation of great nations history, their institutional capacity building and their behaviour as unitary actor in international system viz-a-viz the case-study of Pakistan suggest that the research falls within the realm of Structural or Neo-Realism and Social Constructivism.

Notes

- ¹ Scott Burchill et al, *Theories of International Relations* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 188.
- ² Robert Jackson et al, *Introduction to International Relations and Approaches* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 162
- ³ *Ibid.*
- ⁴ Burchill, *Theories of International Relations*, 19.
- ⁵ Jackson, *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches*, 66.
- ⁶ Burchill, *Theories of International Relations*, 29.
- ⁷ John Baylis et al, *The Globalization of the World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2014), 101
- ⁸ Kenneth W. Thompson, *Traditions and Values in Politics and Diplomacy: Theory and Practice* (Louisiana, LSU Press, 1992), 88
- ⁹ Burchill, *Theories of International Relations*, 189
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*: 194.
- ¹¹ Jackson, *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches*, 210.
- ¹² Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999), 258.
- ¹³ Burchill, *Theories of International Relations*, 30.
- ¹⁴ Jackson, *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches*, 73.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*: 118.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*: 101.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*: 103.
- ¹⁹ Jackson, *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches*: 211.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*: 66.

²¹ John Gultang, "A Structural Theory of Imperialism", *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (1971):.81, <http://bev.berkeley.edu/ipe/readings/galtung.pdf> (accessed June 28, 2013).

²² *Ibid*: 83.

²³ *Ibid*: 91.

²⁴ John Baylis et al, *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations* (Oxford, University Press, 2014): 146

²⁵ Jackson, *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches*, 68.

²⁶ Jackson, *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches*: 80.

²⁷ John W. Burton, *World Society* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 35 and Jackson, *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches*, 104.

²⁸ John W. Burton, *World Society* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 36.

²⁹ Jackson, *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches*, 110 and 308.

³⁰ Jackson, *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches*: 217.

³¹ Burchill, *Theories of International Relations*, 196.

³² Jackson, *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches*, 66.

³³ Jackson, *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches*: 69.

³⁴ *Ibid*: 73.

³⁵ *Ibid*: 74.

³⁶ John M. Hobson, *The State and International Relations* (Cambridge, The University of Cambridge Press, 2000), 100

³⁷ Jackson, *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches*, 106.

³⁸ *Ibid*: 216.

- ³⁹ Jackson, *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches*: 216.
- ⁴⁰ Charles R. Beitz, *Political Theory and International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 69.
- ⁴¹ Hidemi Suganami, *The Domestic Analogy and World Order Proposals* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 10.
- ⁴² Moorhead Wright, "Central but ambiguous: states and international theory", *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (July 1984):.235.
- ⁴³ Suganami, *The Domestic Analogy and World Order Proposals*, 24.
- ⁴⁴ Burchill, *Theories of International Relations*, 85.
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- ⁵² Wallach, *U.S.A. History in Brief*, 41.
- ⁵³ *Ibid*: 49.
- ⁵⁴ Wallach, *U.S.A. History in Brief*: 55.
- ⁵⁵ "Media: EU approves ban on tools of torture," Marietje Schaake, 17 June 2010, <http://www.marietjeschaake.eu/2010/06/media-eu-approves-ban-on-tools-of-torture/> (accessed March 11, 2013)
- ⁵⁶ Government of Pakistan, "Year Book 2010-2011", Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Resources: 11, <http://www.mpnr.gov.pk/gop/index.php?q=aHRocDovLzE5Mi4xNjguNz>

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⁵⁷ Vendulka Kubalkova et al., eds., *International Relations in a Constructed World*, (New York: M.E. Sharpe Inc., 1998), 59.

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⁵⁹ Stefano Guzzini and Anna Leander eds, *Constructivism and International Relations: Alexander Wendt and his Critics* (Oxon, Routedledge, 2006): 24

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MANIFESTATIONS OF A STATE'S FUNCTIONS

“the first duty of a Government is to maintain law and order, so that the life, property and religious beliefs of its subjects are fully protected by the State.”

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah

“Nations fail today because their extractive economic institutions do not create incentives needed for people to save, invest and innovate. Extractive political institutions support these economic institutions by cementing the powers of those who benefit from the extraction.”

Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson

“.....the sovereignty is an artificial soul, as giving life and motion to the whole body; the magistrates and other officers of judicature and execution, artificial joints; reward and punishment (by which fastened to the seat of the sovereignty, every joint and member is moved to perform his duty) are the nerves, that do the same in the body natural; the wealth and riches of all the particular members are the strength; salus populi (the people's safety) its business; counsellors, by whom all things needful for it to know are suggested unto it, are the memory; equity and laws, an artificial reason and will; concord, health; sedition, sickness; and civil war, death. Lastly, the pacts and covenants, by which the parts of this body politic were at first made, set together, and united, resemble that fiat, or the Let Us Make Man, pronounced by God in the Creation.”

Thomas Hobbes: LEVIATHAN

MANIFESTATIONS OF A STATE'S FUNCTIONS

The chapter has been dedicated for dilating discussion on demonstration of states' functions in the international system. Keeping in view the scope of the book, the debate has been restricted to political, economic and security manifestations.

The research questions related to the debate in the chapter articulates: "What are the worldly accepted ingredients of a proud and prosperous nation?" And, "what is the relative position of Pakistan in comparison with selected international models?"

Before generating discussion on the main theme, various definitional and conceptual aspects, related to the word "state", and the process of evolution of the current international system of states, have been briefly touched which is followed by the national and international commitments of a state.

Finally, the worldly international standards and relative standing of selected model nations, along with the comparative position of Pakistan, have been deliberated in detailed.

The Concept of a State and a Nation State

There is no academic consensus amongst the pundits of international relations on a specific definition of a state. There are, however, various explanations on concept of a "state", "nation", "nation-state" and "country" – a set of different interrelated theories of a political phenomenon – presented by scholars of diverse schools of thought. The great English philosopher of 16th century, Thomas Hobbes – also known as the founding father of modern political philosophy – gives an artistic yet a classic explanation of a state. He correlates first, the functioning of all automata with human body and then human body with state machinery. By imitating a human body, Hobbes describes the organization and working of a state – referring it as LEVIATHAN, called a

COMMONWEALTH, or STATE (in Latin CIVITAS), which is but an artificial man.¹ Thomas Hobbes also analogizes the creation of that artificial man – the state – with God's creation of the human race by saying, ".....the sovereignty is an artificial soul, as giving life and motion to the whole body; the magistrates and other officers of judicature and execution, artificial joints; reward and punishment (by which fastened to the seat of the sovereignty, every joint and member is moved to perform his duty) are the nerves, that do the same in the body natural; the wealth and riches of all the particular members are the strength; *salus populi* (the people's safety) its business; counsellors, by whom all things needful for it to know are suggested unto it, are the memory; equity and laws, an artificial reason and will; concord, health; sedition, sickness; and civil war, death. Lastly, the pacts and covenants, by which the parts of this body politic were at first made, set together, and united, resemble that fiat, or the Let Us Make Man, pronounced by God in the Creation."²

There are many other theories of the state which range between extremes of archaism and idealism. Morton Fried – an American thinker of 20th century and distinguished Professor of Anthropology at Columbia University, New York – critically examines a wide variety of concepts and definitions of a state given by political philosophers. He identifies two extreme arguments in the definitional and conceptual range of a state. One claim relates a state with one or more highly specific features, such as organized political powers, defined special boundaries, or a formal judiciary. At the other end of the definitional spectrum, a state is simply regarded as the institutional aspect of political interaction.³

The legendary German sociologist, philosopher and political economist of nineteenth century, Max Weber has, however, different conceptual understanding about state. He purely relates his understanding of a state with a system of political authority and emphasizes on two words i.e. "monopoly" and "legitimacy" in explaining the contextual contours of a state. From Max Weber's above emphatic claim – which he made during his lecture of 1919, "Politics as a

Vocation”⁴ – stems out the most common definition of “state” as an institution in society that possesses monopolistic authority to employ legitimate force.⁵

Some other philosophers have also given definitions of a state which more or less contain similar connotations. In the contemporary political era, John C Donovan simply explains the concept of a state in the modern world as a formally organised government. He defines “state” as, “A legally formalized entity having accepted jurisdiction over a territory and a population and the capacity, within the territory, to make rules binding on the whole population and enforce those rules through generally accepted legal procedures and application of force.”⁶

All the above descriptions and perceptions of “state”, indeed, explain various approaches of social and political scientists. In all the above approaches there a growing agreement on the importance of a state but there is also a growing disagreement on the exact meaning of it. Some view it from organisational angle, some from hierarchical perspective, and other from its functional paradigm. But more or less all agree on the existence of state as an entity which provides a sense of security to its citizens. A “state” enables humans to overcome the situation of insecurity that pervades the state of nature. It facilitates collective action by bringing people under one rule.⁷

The aforesaid explanations lead to a generally accepted definition of a state as spelled out in Oxford Dictionary, “A politically organised body of people under a single government” or “The group of people comprising the government of sovereign state.”⁸ Another definition close to the international relations perspective describes a state as, “a large social system with a set of rules that are enforced by a permanent administrative body.”⁹

As per the article-7 of Constitution of Pakistan 1973, “the State” means the Federal Government, Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament), a Provincial Government, a Provincial

Assembly, and such local or other authorities in Pakistan as are by law empowered to impose any tax or cess.¹⁰

Though all the above definitions are correct and relevant to a particular set of environment, but the word “state” is being used for “a large political and social system with defined geographical borders and set of rules enforced by a single government.” Furthermore, the terms country, state, nation and nation-state are used interchangeably, however, political theorists highlight minor differences in all the above. In this book all the said terms – state, nation, nation-state and country – are used in the same sense.

Evolution of a States System

The process of evolution of independent and sovereign states on globe of the earth is spread over the past four centuries. The journey of nations in establishing their autonomous status in regional and international community is littered with bloodshed and barbarianism. All conflicts between two (or more) rivals had been aimed at either proving their supremacy – act of aggression – or defending their sovereignty. It had also been a dominant factor of the war history of nations that during or at the end of the conflict, some – though partial or half-hearted – effort was initiated towards peace. All such desultory efforts paved the way towards giving a concept of independent and sovereign nation-states.

In the recorded history of mankind four important treaties are considered as milestone towards evolutions of the present world order under the UN. These are discussed in the succeeding paragraphs.

Peace Treaty of Westphalia – 1648

Peace Treaty of Westphalia – commonly referred as “The Peace of Westphalia” – is not just one specific truce but a collection of pacts linked together with one fact that they brought an end to thirty years wars in Europe. The

negotiations on terms and conditions to be included in the draft treaty lasted for many years due to involvement of a large number of stakeholders. It is related that the treaty was drafted between 1646 and 1648; whereas, it was signed between May 15 and October 24, 1648 at Osnabrück and Münster, Westphalia (modern-day Germany) by 109 delegates.

The political pundits of all schools of thought consider "The Peace of Westphalia" as a turning point in the history of mankind and a seedbed of the modern system of states sovereignty. As stated by Gregory A Raymond in *Encyclopaedia of International Relations and Global Politics*: "The Westphalia treaty marks the birth of the nation-state."¹¹ Although, the treaty was unable to ensure peace throughout Europe – as France and Spain remained at war for the next eleven years – but at least it proved to be an interlude between states' foreign subjugation and realization for national self-determination. The Westphalian treaty introduced the fundamental norm of state sovereignty within which domestic political authorities are sole arbiters of legitimate behaviour.¹²

The Westphalian order assumed a vital importance for three main reasons. First, it secularised international politics by divorcing it from any particular religious footing, anchoring it instead on the tenets of national interest and reasons of state. Second, it promoted sovereignty, the legal doctrine that no higher authority stands above the state, except that to which the state voluntarily assents. Third, it accepted a conception of international society based on the legal equality of states.¹³

Westphalia to Utrecht – 1713

The Treaty of Utrecht is regarded as another milestone in European history, concluding the extensive period of wars and proclaiming a remarkably protracted peace. Like treaty of Westphalia, it is also a series of mutual peace agreements between several European states. The treaty is related to be signed in March and April 1713 in Dutch city of Utrecht by

belligerent nations including Spain, Great Britain, France, Portugal and Dutch as major signatories.

The “Peace of Utrecht” embodied several intriguing concepts in international relations including the performing diplomacy in eighteenth-century Europe. Though it helped in maintaining a prolonged peace but later, the treaty also proved to be the root-cause of aggressive balance of power politics.

Nonetheless, the treaty crafted the architecture of an international society and is judged as second most significant landmark after the Westphalian political order.

Utrecht to Vienna – 1815

The evolutionary journey of states system entered into the Austrian city of Vienna in early nineteenth century where ambassadors of European states discussed issues emerged after the French Revolutionary Wars (1793-1802), dissolution of Holy Roman Empire (1806) and fall of Napoleon (1815).

The Congress of Vienna – held from September of 1814 to June of 1815 – was the largest gathering of sovereigns and diplomatists ever seen in Europe,¹⁴ however, all major decisions were made by four European countries i.e. Austria, Russia, Prussia and Great Britain. The congress proved to be exceedingly successful in achieving its objective of re-establishing balance of power in Europe and maintaining undisturbed peace for almost forty years.

Vienna to Versailles – 1919

The history of mankind witnessed two bloody world wars. World War I was the most horrific conflict engulfed Europe from 1914 to 1919. By the time the war ended, over nine million men had died on the battlefield,¹⁵ besides twenty million wounded. The five year of blood-spattered war ended in November 1918 and the members of the victorious nations assembled in Paris Peace Conference in early 1919. However,

it took them almost six months to draft a peace resolution which was signed on June 28, 1919 as “Treaty of Versailles.”

The treaty was signed between the Allies – Britain, France, Italy, the United States and twenty-three other nations – and the defeated Central Powers – Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey. It is considered as the first and foremost major event of the twentieth century because it helped to shape the future of Europe, Asia and the Middle East.

In contrast to the Allies demands of territorial gains, the U.S President Woodrow Wilson wished to introduce a new era of peace instead initiating punitive measure against any country. He presented his fourteen points which aimed at multilateralism, diplomacy and national self-determinations – an agenda for creation of League of Nations. Germany was quite hopeful of fair and gentle terms upon signing the armistice, but at Versailles the nationalist goals of Allies clashed with Woodrow Wilson’s vision of peace and resultantly Germany was declared the main culprit – liable to pay heavy toll as war penalty.

Germans signed the treaty under protest but started renewed preparations for yet another bloody war. The rise of Adolf Hitler in Germany and Benito Mussolini in Italy in 1920s – resulted into development of accusatory ideological philosophy – Nazism and Fascism – in Europe, which ultimately became the main cause of World War II. The increasingly important organization, the League of Nations, could do nothing to prevent the military build up in Europe and Asia, nor the Anschluss of Austria, Hitler’s annexation of Sudetenland, Mussolini’s occupation of Albania, the Japanese invasion of China beginning on July 7, 1937, nor above all the European war unleashed on September 1, 1939 by Hitler.¹⁶

Versailles to United Nations (UN) – 1945

The evolutionary voyage of states system evolved the current shape through the shadows of World War II when the idea of creation of the United Nations coined by the U.S.

President Roosevelt in 1942. At the end of World War I, the League of Nations was formed which failed to ensure a perpetual universal peace and stop the rise of Hitler and Mussolini. One central reason of the failure of the League of Nations was the U.S. absence and refusal to join the League after World War I.

Roosevelt developed the United Nations from 1942 to 1945 to avoid a repeat of the U.S. performance. The means of preventing World War III emerging from the ruins of the Second, would be a regulated global economy, a better security system with enforcement power and an inbuilt vested interest of the most powerful states in the UN through veto on UN decisions, not reliance on national military might.¹⁷

Today, the UN, which started its journey with 51 states in 1945, is a forum of 193 member states. As an international organization, the UN is committed to maintaining international peace and security, developing friendly relations among nations and promoting social progress, better living standards and human rights.¹⁸ The establishment of the UN depicts the true concept of an independent and sovereign state envisaged in the Peace Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, though quite vaguely.

National and International Commitments of a State

The study of nations, states, nation-states or countries in IR covers a wide range of theoretical approaches – both emerged within the subject and borrowed from other disciplines. The exponents of various schools of thoughts – realist, liberal and social constructivists – have variant views on the prevailing international and domestic structure and the role of states and statesmen in the system. The study of various approaches in regard to rise and fall of nations / states revolves around three fundamental factors: human beings, as basic entity in a state; the prevailing social and political norms of the society; and, the universally accepted standards – the international environment in which states operate.

A nation-state or a country owes many obligations towards its citizens and international community. Since the foremost and fundamental responsibility of a state is towards its own people, the government machinery is liable to perform important functions in the social, political and economic spheres of a nation. Moreover, as a member of global community and a unitary actor in the world order, a country cannot divorce itself from its international commitments i.e. its role towards maintaining regional and international peace.

Scholars and leaders have always been probing – both theoretically and in real-world perspective – states' saliencies which at one end turn to be in the well-being of their masses in the best possible way; and on the other transforming them into a proud and prosperous nation. The hunt for such a model state in the contemporary era is even challenging as almost all the states are victim of various internal and external compelling circumstances such as law and order, open-market competing economy etcetera. Even Western Europe – the birthplace of the modern, territorial state – is now the locale of an ongoing experiment aimed at transcending the state.¹⁹ The study and evaluation of certain scholarly and analytical / statistical research works can help finding specific and well-defined settings.

While addressing the 1st Constituent Assembly on August 11, 1947, the founder of Pakistan Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah verbalized his vision – by specifying certain doctrinal principles and tasks of the state machinery – of making the great state of Pakistan a proud and prosperous nation. To him the first duty of the Government is to maintain law and order – means security and protection of life, property and religious belief of its subjects. To Jinnah the next vital responsibility of a state is eradication of corruption – nepotism, jobbery and black-marketing – from Government ranks and society. He further reveals the secret of transformation of masses into a proud and prosperous nation by emphasising on statesmen to wholly and solely concentrate on the well-being of the people – means economic development through capacity building of economic

institutions. National unity and cohesion, equality, justice and fair play are some other defining principles through which the father of the nation looks forward to Pakistan becoming one of the greatest nations of the world.²⁰

The same philosophy has also supported by many other thinkers of IR. Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson in their famous book, "Why Nations Fails", denote a state failure to the failure of state's institutions especially the political and economic institutions. Nations fail today because their extractive economic institutions do not create incentives needed for people to save, invest and innovate. Extractive political institutions support these economic institutions by cementing the powers of those who benefit from the extraction.²¹ They also believe that countries often fail not due to their geography, culture or the lack of resources but due to the legacy of extractive institutions. The institution failure is a contagious disease which affects the other states pillar too. It also encourages accumulation of wealth in few hands, emasculate state's authority and military power which paves ways for conflicts – often leading to civil unrest and even civil war. Conflict precipitates state failure.²²

Apart from political, economic, and peace and security elements of national powers, there is yet one another factor which proved to be most constructive in the nations making process i.e. the technological advancement through education. Historians and analysts argue that though the Western Europe has shown unprecedented progress in the nineteenth and twentieth century but other nations were not unaware of this most significant facet of national development. Paul Kennedy in his master piece "The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers" acknowledges technological supremacy of Muslim Empires – e.g. Ottoman Empire – over their contemporary Roman Empire. Kennedy argues, "For centuries before 1500 the world of Islam had been culturally and technologically ahead of Europe. Its cities were large, well-lit and drained, and some of them possessed universities and libraries and stunningly beautiful mosques. In mathematics, cartography, medicine, and many other aspects of science and industry – in mills,

gun-casting, lighthouses, horse-breeding – the Muslims had enjoyed a lead.”²³

The Quaid’s vision and the historic evaluation of great and failed nations’ accounts by political analysts is just nothing but strengthening and capacity building of the state institutions – mainly political, economic, law enforcing and educational institutions. A comparative examination of these institutions of the contemporary world models merits attention through the lens of political critics. The states comparative standings in the comity of nations in relations to their domestic and international obligations are discussed in the succeeding paragraphs.

Comparative Study of Nation-states in Political, Economic and Security Paradigm

A state’s responsibility is not just to govern by virtue of the constitutionally vested authority so as to maintain writ of the government or the law and order. It is, rather, much beyond that and nothing short of good governance, involving management of the state’s affairs, especially political, economic and social change. In the current era, comparative study of states performance in various disciplines of public services has assumed paramount importance. Since past few years, good governance has become a key concept and intriguing theory in international development debate. Various analysts, researchers and organizations have started organising comparative studies for identifying significant difference of governance across countries as well as for country-specific in-depth governance diagnostics.²⁴

Governance is said to have three legs: political, economic, and administrative.²⁵ However, in the prevailing global scenario “security” – both homeland and abroad – cannot be divorced. Economic governance includes decision-making process that affects a country’s economic activities and its relationship with other economies.²⁶ Political governance involves the formulation of policy, while administrative governance is the system of policy implementation.²⁷ The

evaluation of a government performance – using various scientific tools and methods – is vital to trace the footprints of proud and prosperous nations. Keeping in view the scope of this book the research analysis have been confined to political, economic and security paradigms.

Politics – A Question of Government and Governance

It is, though, difficult to determine the most common type of political system – as all have similar origin and analogous characteristics – however, the variant global governmental systems can be divided into five major categories: democracy, republic, monarchy, communism and dictatorship.

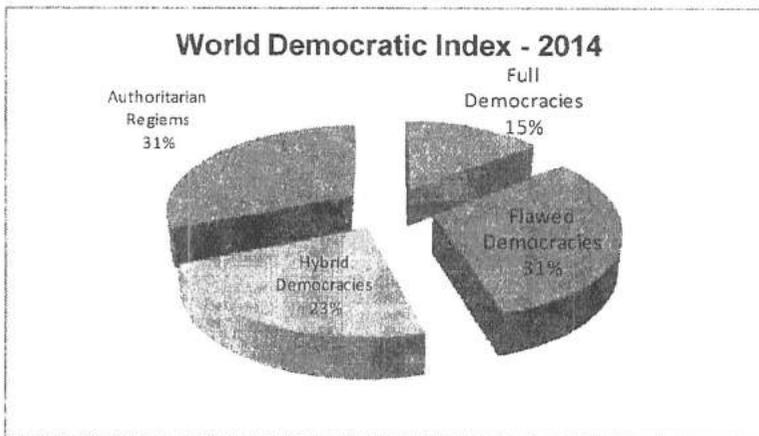
Democracy – due to the involvement of people in government functioning and recognition of their social, economical and political rights – is the most common and most favourite political system of the contemporary world. Political scientists and sociologists have presented various theories to differentiate democratic form of government from others. Tatu Vanhanen while giving a Darwanian explanation terms democracy as a government of many in relation to autocracy as a government of the few. He further argues that: “The concentration of power resources leads to autocracy, and the distribution of resources leads to democracy.”²⁸

There are, however, two broad forms of functional democracies: direct and indirect/representative democracies. In direct democracy every citizen has equal say in all major decisions on public policy. Many scholars term direct democracy as pure democracy. On the contrary, in representative democracy, the elected legislators make decisions.

In the past quarter-century, democracy has spread around the world to an unprecedented degree.²⁹ Out of 193 member states of the United Nations, 167 have democratic forms of governments.

One must remember that democracy is not all about forming a political government but it is more a subject of good governance which makes its masses to reap its dividends. Various analysts and research organizations keep a close watch on states performance and present a comparative index. The Economist – weekly magazine of The Economist Group, U.K – has been publishing a detailed analysis of the world democracies since 2007. Basing on five criteria: electoral process and pluralism; civil liberties; the functioning of government; political participation; and political culture, the world countries are divided in four types of regimes: full democracies; flawed democracies; hybrid democracies; and authoritarian.³⁰

As per the last year's report – Democracy Index 2014 – only 24 (14.4 percent) countries fall in the category of “full democracies” which makes only 12.5 percent of the world population; 52 countries (31.1 percent) are rated as “flawed democracies”. Of the remaining, 39 countries (23.4 percent) are hybrid and 52 countries (31.1 percent) are classified as authoritarian regimes.³¹ Their graphic representation is shown in Chart 3.1 below.



The five top ranked full democratic regimes include: Norway, Sweden, Iceland, New Zealand and Denmark. Germany is listed 13th; The United Kingdom 16th whereas the

U.S falls at 19st position. France at 23rd, India is placed in the category of “flawed democracies” and rated 27th. Pakistan being considered as part of “hybrid regimes” is rated as low as 108th; and Russia and China – authoritarian regimes – are 132nd and 144th respectively.³²

No matter how analysts see states through their lens, it is an established fact that democracy has been accepted as the best form of government all over the world and there has been an unprecedented rise of democratic change all over the world especially after the World War II. Frances Fukuyama – the leading contemporary thinker of neoliberal paradigm – claimed in early 1990s that the collapse of Soviet Union was not just end of Cold War rather “the end of history” and termed it as “end point of man’s ideological evolution and the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government.”³³

After establishing the fact that democracy is the best form of government in the cotemporary era, the question on the choice between parliamentary and presidential models of government is of paramount importance. Both the models having relative pros and cons are being practised around the globe. The Great Britain parliamentary and the U.S. presidential forms of government serve as case studies for researchers to assess which one bears maximum merits.

The presidential form is largely popular in Latin America but exists in one form or the other in over forty states of the world – like Afghanistan, Argentina, Brazil, Indonesia and certain Central Asian States. The parliamentary model on the other hand is in vogue in over fifty nations – such as Australia, Canada, India, Israel, New Zealand, Norway, and Pakistan. In certain other cases semi-presidential model is influential – e.g. Sri Lanka and Portugal.

There are basically three distinctions in both the models. Firstly, in terms of the head of government: in parliamentary government the official titles such as prime minister, premier, chancellor, minister-president and Taoiseach, and in

presidential form the head is almost always called president.³⁴ Secondly, the election process of the head: presidents are popularly elected either directly or by electoral college whereas prime ministers are selected by the legislature.³⁵ And, thirdly, the role of the head and his team members: parliamentary systems have collective or collegial executives whereas the presidential systems have one-person, non-collegial executive.³⁶ There is yet another difference in both the forms i.e. in parliamentary system, president is head of state whereas prime minister serves as the head of the government.

Pakistan – with record of mixed experience of both the sculptures – has returned to the parliamentary structure of the government. The constitution – adopted in 1973 – provides for the federal parliamentary system with president as head of the state and a popularly elected prime minister as head of the government. Due to regular interruptions in democratic processes and prolonged periods of military rule, neither could the true essence of democracy reach to the grass-root level nor was a particular model adopted as governmental structure.

Economy – the Symbol of Nations' Prosperity

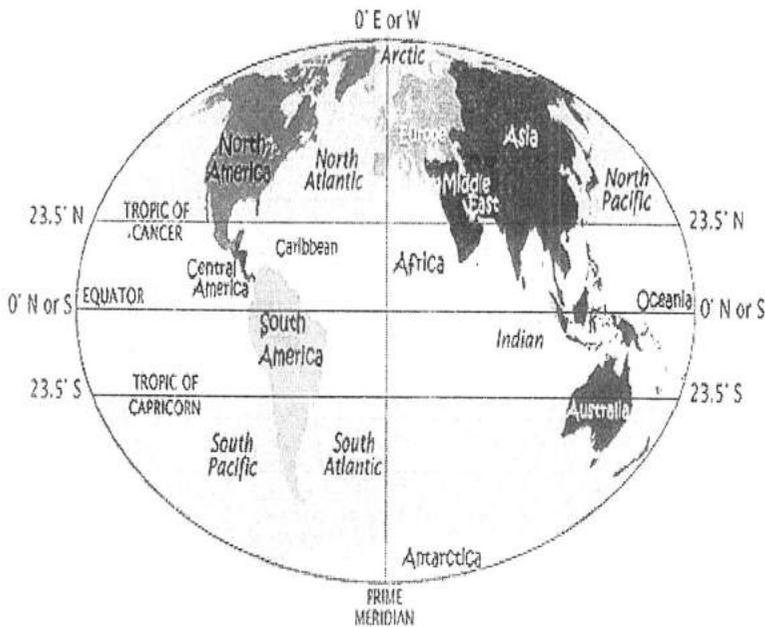
Economy plays the most important role in nations' history. Nations make and break on economic grounds as no nation can survive without managing its wealth. A state's most important responsibility towards its masses is to make sure that the basic needs of its people, especially those of the poor are fulfilled. A government performance in any political system is directly linked with its economic reforms in raising the living standards of its people.

The importance of economy in a nation's development has always been recognized and highlighted by all world great leaders and scholars. During his 3rd annual message to Congress on December 8, 1925, the U.S. former President, John Calvin Coolidge, said: "Economy is the method by which we prepare today to afford the improvements of tomorrow."³⁷

Various world organizations, researchers and analysts have been conducting research and maintaining statistical data of almost all the countries which serves as baseline in establishing their relative position amongst comity of nations. Such studies – conducted on the basis of specific patterns among poor and prosperous countries – help indentifying reasons as to why some states are and remain poor, whereas the others are and remain rich consistently. It also helps policymakers to find ways to manage the struggling economic challenges and prepare their economies to perform well in an increasingly difficult and unpredictable national and international landscape.

Robinson and Acemoglu have explained three widely accepted hypothesis explaining the cause of inequality among states. In one such theory – called geography hypothesis – they claim that the great divide between the rich and poor countries is created by geographical differences. Many poor countries, such as those of Africa, Central America, and South Asia, are situated between the tropics of Cancer and Capricorn. Rich nations, in contrast, tend to be in temperate latitudes.³⁸ The main promoter of geography hypothesis was the all-time famous French political thinker, Montesquieu. He, in late 18th century, having identifying a specific pattern of geographic concentration of rich and poor nations, presented the geography hypothesis. Montesquieu claimed that people living in tropical region are by nature lazy, lethargic and lack curiosity which is the main reason of their poverty. Two more arguments were included in the modern version of the hypothesis: first, the tropical diseases, particularly malaria, have very adverse consequences for health and therefore labour productivity; and second, that tropical soils do not allow for productive agriculture.³⁹

Picture: Geography Theory



Source: World Atlas, <http://www.worldatlas.com/aatlas/imagee.htm>

The geography hypothesis, however, could not get much popularity amongst the political and economic thinkers. Quoting the living examples of difference in living standards in North and South Nogales, North and South Korea, and East and West Germany (before unification), it can rightly be said that world inequality is not dependent upon climate and diseases. Robinson and Acemoglu argue that: "It is not true that the tropics have always been poorer than temperate latitudes.... at the time of the conquest of the Americas by Columbus, the areas south of the Tropic of Cancer and north of the Tropic of Capricorn, which today include Mexico, Central America, Peru, and Bolivia, held the great Aztec and Inca civilizations. These empires were politically centralized and complex, built roads, and provided famine relief."⁴⁰

The second customary theory explaining the causes of poverty and prosperity of states is cultural hypothesis. The main exponent of the hypothesis is the famous German

philosopher Max Weber, who argues that certain nations have developed work culture, values and ethics which are the main reasons of their economic prosperity. Weber explains that these values and ethics are not necessarily related to any religion but states' economic culture and their urge for development and prosperity. He, however, claims that these ethics and values spurred from Protestant Reforms in Europe, and Netherland and England were the first economic successes of the modern era.

Quoting the examples of African countries, the cliques of the culture hypothesis maintain that Africans are poor because they lack good work ethics, still believe in witchcraft and magic, or resist new Western technologies.⁴¹ Similarly, the prevalence of "Iberian" or "Manana" culture – means "Why do today, what can be done tomorrow" – as well the extravagance of people despite being needy, is the sole reason of their economic adversity. Many analysts once believed that the Chinese culture and Confucian values were inimical to economic growth. However, in today's world the importance of the Chinese work ethic, as the engine of growth in China, Hong Kong, and Singapore is trumpeted.⁴²

There are, however, a number of arguments against the basic theme presented in the culture hypothesis. Robinson and Acemoglu, while proposing the case study of various regions and states including the Middle East, argue that religion or ethic values were not main factors of economic uplift or downfall of a specific country but various other elements closely associated with the development of economy. For example, the Middle Eastern countries are primarily Muslim – most of them are oil rich. The oil producing countries are rich where as non-oil producing Middle Eastern states are poor – means religion has nothing to do with prosperity. By closely studying the economies of the region, one finds that Saudi Arabia and Kuwait are richest in oil production but the pace of growth of modern economy in both the countries is rather slow. On the other hand, Egypt and Syria are poor in oil production but have shown systematic signs of prosperity. Reasons? Analysts argue: "For one, they

were all provinces of the Ottoman Empire, which heavily, and adversely, shaped the way they developed. After Ottoman rule collapsed, the Middle East was absorbed into the English and French colonial empires, which, again, stunted their possibilities. After independence, they followed much of the former colonial world by developing hierarchical, authoritarian political regimes with few of the political and economic institutions that are crucial for generating economic success.”⁴³ This shows that the apex of economic trajectory is not altogether relevant to cultural hypothesis.

The third existing theory elucidating reasons as why some nations are poor and some are rich is called as ignorance hypothesis. The theory stresses that nations fail to progress because their leaders are ignorant of the potentials of their countries and lack knowledge of making optimum utilization of their national wealth. The theory revolves around the science of economics aimed at converting limited national potentials and resources to satisfy social needs. As stated by the English economist Lionel Robbins in 1935, “economics is a science which studies human behaviour as a relationship between ends and scarce means which have alternative uses.”⁴⁴

The ignorance hypothesis can be best explained by studying the political, social and economic dynamics of African countries in comparison with Europe. The major reason of inequality between the two regions is certainly the difference in calibre of their leadership. Western European leaders are better informed or better advised, which explains their relative success.

Considering the examples of the leadership qualities and preferences of the U.S. and Mexico, one finds opposing economic policies adopted by their rulers. For instance, Porfirio Díaz – who served seven terms as President of Mexico (1876-1911) – chose economic institutions that enriched elites at the expense of the rest of society.⁴⁵ The African leaders also adopted the similar path because it suited their political status and they thought it was the best of economics. In contrast his

contemporary U.S. president, Theodore Roosevelt (1901-1909) and President Woodrow Wilson (1913-1921) followed the opposite policies. The outcome of both the approaches is quite obvious.

The leading difference of ignorance hypothesis with geography and culture hypotheses is that the former is solution oriented – means, how to solve the problems of poverty: if ignorance got us here, enlightened and informed rulers and policymakers can get us out and we should be able to “engineer” prosperity around the world by providing the right advice and by convincing politicians of what is good economics.⁴⁶

The other character of ignorance hypothesis which differentiate it from two, is its emphasis on institution building – the trail followed by the U.S., Europe and other developed nations to enrich the majority of their citizens than a small segment of elite class.

Ignorance hypothesis is the most widely accepted hypothesis among leading contemporary economists and policymakers especially the West.

Determining Economic Health

Various world organisations and institutions – such as International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank (WB), World Economic Forum (WEF), and United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA) – as well as private organizations and countries' economic institutions do carry out economic surveys – both absolute and comparative – and publish reports. All the above institutions by and large use similar tools of analysis with varying degree of weightage.

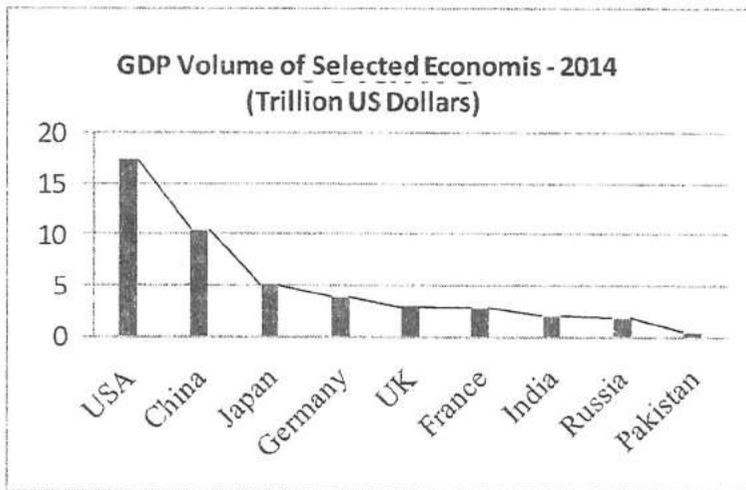
An in depth scrutiny of proud and prosperous nations – leading economies – reveals certain common factors leading to upward trend in their economy. Apart from their large volume of GDP and GDP growth, these commonalities also

include their high per capita income, trade volume, quality of infrastructure, education system (especially the technological advancement), revenue collection, low inflation rate, and control on corruption. On the other hand, the same indicators of the countries possessing poor economy are negative in direction. In the research following international models are taken as case study (as well comparison with Pakistan): China, France, Germany, Japan, India, Russia, UK and the U.S.

GDP and GDP Growth Rate

Taking comparison of GDP, almost all researchers rank the U.S., China and Japan as the top three economies of the planet. As per the World Bank Database (2014), the world GDP is \$77.8 trillion. The U.S. with its GDP of over \$17.4 trillion (22.4 percent of the world GDP), is at zenith of the sphere whereas China (approximately \$10.4 trillion) and Japan (just less than \$5 trillion) are at number two and three respectively.⁴⁷

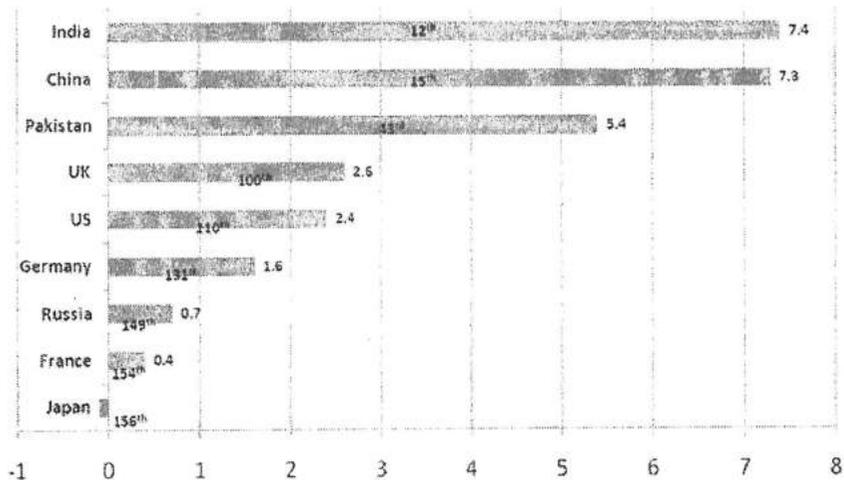
Similarly Germany (slightly over \$3.8 trillion), United Kingdom (approximately \$2.9 trillion), France (over \$2.8 trillion), India (around \$2 trillion), and Russia (about \$1.8 trillion) also fall in the top ten categories. Pakistan's ranking is 43rd position with slightly over \$246 billion.⁴⁸



The other common factor among the rich and prosperous nations is a constant positive trend in their GDP growth which speaks of their firm economic base.

In the GDP growth rate among the model states: India is ranked 12th with over 7.4 percent of GDP growth rate recorded in 2014; China is at 15th in the world with slightly less than 7.4 percent; UK 100th with 2.6 percent; U.S. at 110th with 2.4 percent; Germany 131st with 1.6 percent; Russia 149th with 0.7 percent; France 154th with 0.4 percent; Japan 156th with -0.1 percent. Comparatively Pakistan's ranking is 43rd in the world table with 5.4 percent in its GDP growth rate in 2014.⁴⁹

**GDP Growth Rate of Selected Economies – 2014
(in % per year)**



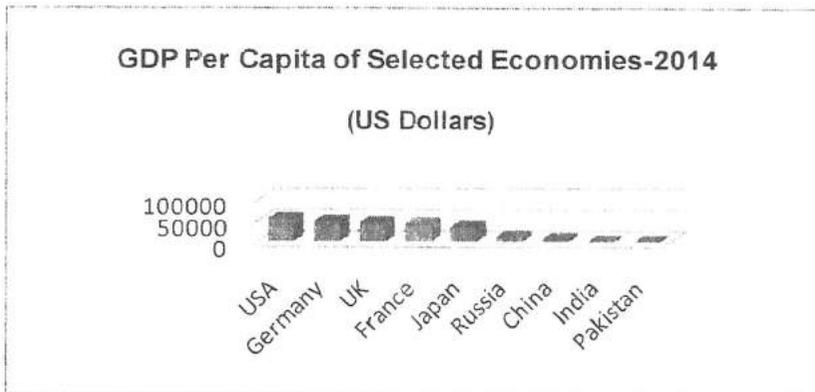
The important thing to note in this indicator is that the countries with sustained economies have comparatively low growth rate as they have already reached the desired mark.

GDP per Capita

Economic experts all over the world give a great importance to GDP per capita than the real volume of a country's GDP. Great economic thinkers believe that in simple terms, richness is not just the total wealth one possesses but

actually the extra wealth. Economists argue that investment alone cannot be the whole story; it has to be “to save and invest policy.” To this end, it will be useful to begin with a simple model in which the only possible source of per capita growth is the accumulation of physical capital.⁵⁰ Levels of GDP per capita are obtained by dividing GDP at current market prices by the population. GDP per capita is a basic economic indicator which measures the level of total economic output relative to the population of a country.⁵¹

As per the World Bank report covering the year 2014, the USA possesses the highest per capita income in amongst top ten economies with \$54,6629; Germany (\$47,627), UK (\$45,603), and France (\$42,732) are holding next three positions in the same order – followed by Japan (\$36,194). However, the economies of Russia (\$12,735), China (\$7,593), and India (\$1,595) are still at quite bottom of the list. Pakistan needs to cover a longer distance as it is struggling with per capita GDP of just \$1,334.⁵²



Trade Volume

In the prevailing era of globalization, all states are dependent upon each other. Their domestic needs and productions have engaged states and regions heavily – the phenomenon commonly referred as globalizing economy – and considered as a vital segment of economic development as

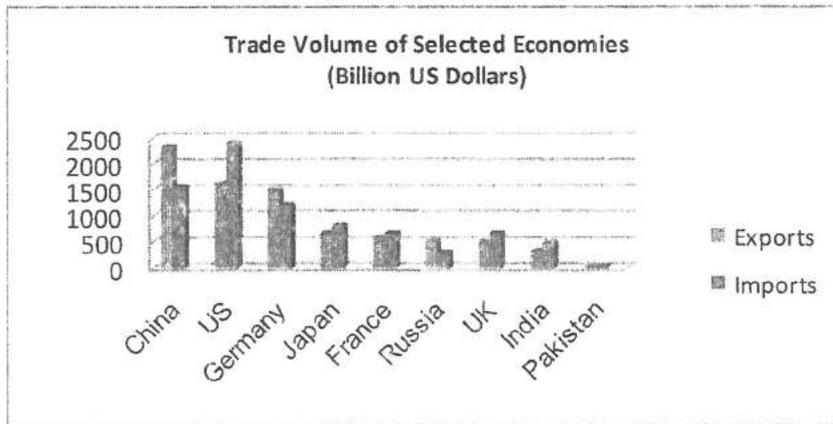
well measurement of economic health and comparative ranking of states in the world.

Trade is a two way traffic which includes exports and imports both. Trade has always been considered as important foreign policy factor of a country but over the past half of a century – especially after the end of the Cold War in 1991 – its importance has increased manifold. In the existing world order nations accord highest priority to trade factor in their interstate relations. In the past 50 years more than 150 regional trade agreements have been notified to the General Agreement on Tariffs And Trade (GATT) or the World Trade Organisation (WTO), most of which are still in force. Roughly half of these, including some revisions of previous deals, have been set up since 1990.⁵³ This new scenario has forced academia all over the world to add economy or globalizing economy as a subject in IR.

Many researchers and global organisations do maintain statistics of the world trade volume. As per WTO's World Trade Report-2014, the countries relative positions in exports and imports for the year 2014 are highlighted below.

In export volume China occupies the first position with \$2342 billion; the U.S. (\$1621 billion), Germany (\$1508 billion) and Japan (\$684) are 2nd, 3rd and 4th respectively, whereas 6th, 8th and 11th slots are with France (\$583 billion), U.K. (\$506 billion), and Russia (\$498 billion) correspondingly; Indian status in the list is 19th with \$322 billion,⁵⁴ whereas Pakistan with just \$24 billion export volume is nowhere in world ranking.⁵⁵

As regards to import volume the U.S. is at the top of the list with \$2413 billion imports in 2014; China (\$1959 billion), Germany (\$1216 billion), Japan (\$822 billion) and the U.K. (\$684 billion) are at 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th positions respectively; in the subsequent slots 6th position is with France (\$678 billion), 12th is with India (\$463 billion) and 17th is with Russia (\$308 billion); Pakistan is again way back with \$41 billion imports in 2014.



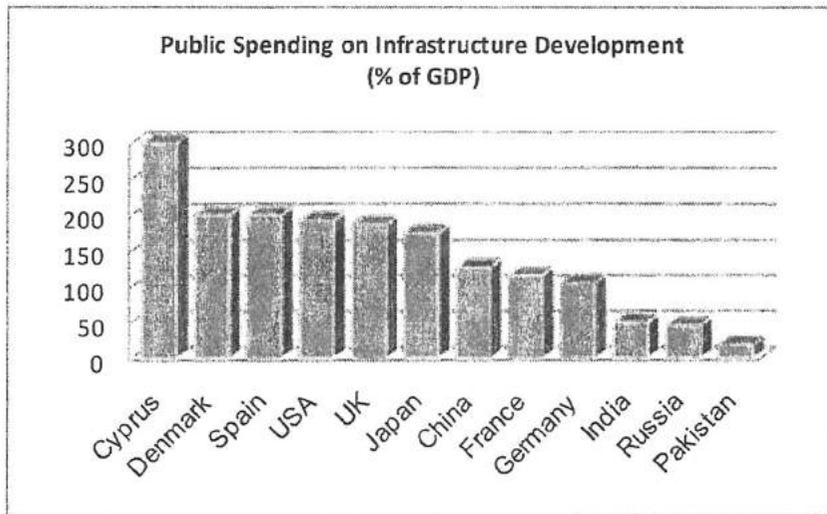
Infrastructure

Development of infrastructure is extremely important for developing economies. Political and economic thinkers believe that civilization travels on roads. Infrastructure is considered as the economic arteries and veins. Roads, ports, railways, airports, power lines, pipes and wires that enable people, goods, commodities, water, energy and information to move about efficiently.⁵⁶

An in depth study of world top economies reveals that governments – considering states' infrastructure as an indicator of development – either conduct the task themselves by allocating resources from public fund as well encourage private investors to undertake development of infrastructure. Moreover, the world financial, monetary and economic institutions also maintain databank of both public investment and investment commitments in infrastructure projects with private participation. In economic relationship it is called as domestic credit to private sector. Domestic credit to private sector refers to financial resources provided to the private sector, such as through loans, purchases of non-equity securities, and trade credits and other accounts receivable, that establish a claim for repayment. For some countries these claims include credit to public enterprises.⁵⁷ As per The World

Bank database for a period from 2000 to 2011, the relative investment of leading economies with comparison with Pakistan are shown in the succeeding paragraph.

The report reflects that Cyprus is at top slot which has spent just short of 300 percent of their accumulative GDP on infrastructure development from 2000 to 2011; Demark and Spain are at next positions with over 200 percent allocation; the USA with 192.3 percent, UK with 186.9 percent and Japan with 174.8 percent investment out of their GDP are at 7th, 9th, and 10th slots respectively; the 19th and 24th rankings are with China (127 percent) and France (115.4 percent) correspondingly. Next in the list include: 29th position with Germany (104.5 percent), 75th with India (49.9 percent), and 82nd with Russia (45.8 percent). Pakistan is again far below in the list at 144th position with just 18.4 percent allocation from GPD as investment for infrastructure development.⁵⁸



Education and Technological Advancement

Education and technical advancement is today's most powerful factor contributing towards states' rapid economic growth, and assisting them in reducing poverty and inequality. More than strictly an academic interest, differences in

knowledge creation, diffusion, and use have implications for international competitiveness, standards of living, and quality of life.⁵⁹

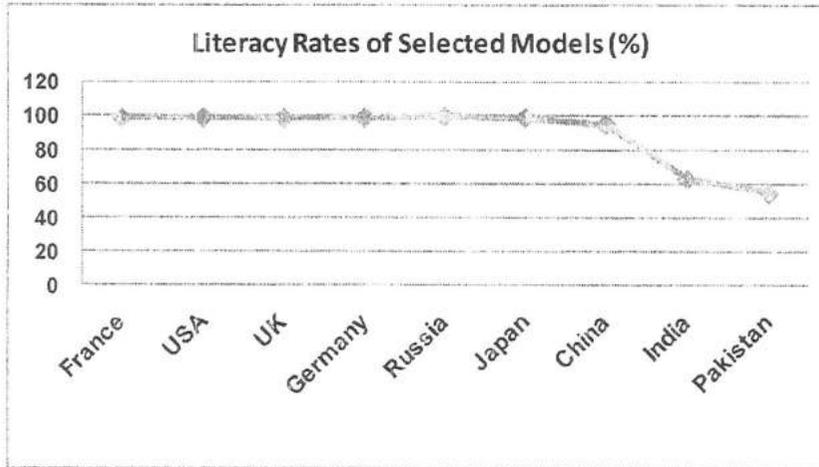
The world history of human development can be divided in three periods of times: pre-industrial, industrial and post-industrial. Before the advent of industrial era, a nation's wealth or the economic strength was only what it possessed in the form of natural resources. During industrial age, those nations gained economic strength which managed to process their raw material at home with the development of their national industrial base. But it's not applicable in current environment as nations have explored much advanced sources of their economic development through scientific and technological advancement. This new concept in the social and economic uplift is part of the Knowledge Theory referred by almost all the contemporary economists as main cause of nations failing, as well as the most contributing factor in their success. The pundits of economy argue that: for most of the history, nations' sources of wealth had been dependent upon the extraction of value from nature, e.g. hunting, fishing, farming, or mining – the renowned economist Daniel Bell connotes it as the pre-industrial age; later, states' sources of wealth became dependent on adding value through processing or fabricating goods from these natural resources, which by contrast, Bell called as the industrial age; and still later, in the current post-industrial age sources of wealth are dependent upon knowledge, information, or know-how for enhancing the foregoing.⁶⁰

Daniel Bell – the U.S. non-neocon sociologist of capitalism – predicted development of a vastly different society that relies on the “economics of information” rather than the “economics of goods”. Bell calls it as post-industrial society. While differentiating between characteristics of industrial and post-industrial societies, Bell claims: in the industrial society, “The machines predominate, and the rhythms of life are mechanically paced: time is chronological, methodical, evenly spaced. Energy has replaced new muscle and provides the power that is the basis of productivity – the art of making

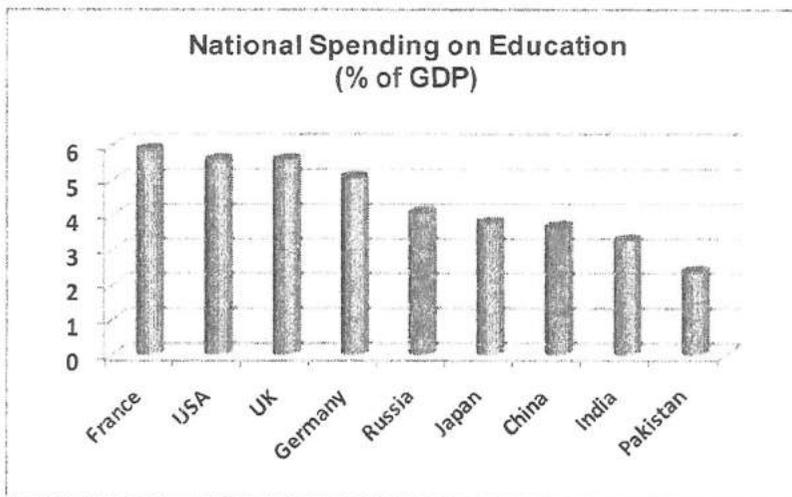
more with less – and is responsible for the mass output of goods which characterizes industrial society;⁶¹ whereas, “If an industrial society is defined by the quantity of goods as marking a standard of living, the post-industrial society is defined by the quality of life as measured by the services and amenities – health, education, recreation, and the arts – which are now deemed desirable and possible for everyone.”⁶²

From the above argument one cannot agree more with the universal verity that the secret of success of all rising economies of the planet, the unrelenting and sustained economic growth of the U.S, rapid growth of Japan especially after World War II, and today’s unprecedented economic rise of China is nothing but the scientific and technological edge which they enjoy on other nations.

This is prime reason as to why the states with urge to rise as proud and prosperous nations, always invest on education, science, technological development, research and evaluation. As per statistics reflected in the World Bank database, France spends as much as 5.9 percent out of its GDP (public spending) on education; the U.S and U.K spend about 5.6 percent; the public expenditure of Germany, Russia and Japan are 5.1, 4.1 and 3.8 percent of their GDP, respectively;⁶³ China’s spending is though at 3.66 percent (as per 2010 statistics) but has set a target of 4 percent;⁶⁴ India expends 3.3 percent whereas Pakistan’s budget allocation on education is bare 2.5 percent.⁶⁵ The graphical representation of the above picture is shown in Chart 3.7 below.



While going through the literacy rates of the countries we find that there are 78 countries in the world with over 90 percent of literacy rate including 20 countries touching the figure of almost 100 percent. Russia is at 99.7 percent; whereas France, Germany, Japan, UK and the U.S. all at 99 percent; China at 95.1 and India is at 62.8 percent of literacy rate.⁶⁶ Pakistan is listed far below at 139th position out of 153 countries with just 54.9 percent of literacy rate.⁶⁷ Their graphical representation is given Chart 3.8 below.



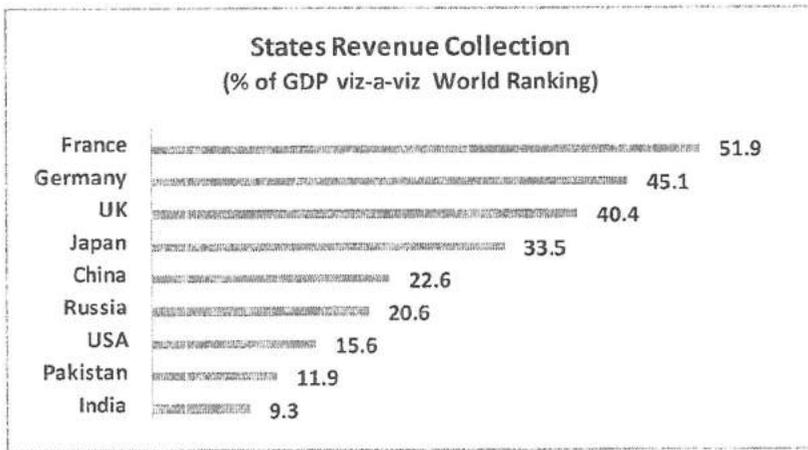
Revenue Collection

Revenue collection is one of the major – if not the only – source of a government earning. An efficient and honest national revenue collection system is always considered as the cornerstone of a state's financial management. The term revenue collection encompasses two important segments: (1) taxes – personal and corporate income taxes, value added taxes, excise taxes and tariffs; and, (2) other revenues – social contributions (payments from social security and hospital insurance), grants and net revenues from public enterprises.⁶⁸ Government machineries always endeavour to evolve a competent and well-organised revenue collection system. The system works not only on meeting the set target but broadening the tax base – both leading to maximizing GDP. As per CIA's World Fact Book, the revenue generations of Greenland, Kuwait and Venezuela are amongst highest in the world, contributing 70 to 80 percent in the GDP.⁶⁹



In other nations, France is at 12th number with 51.9 percent of revenue contribution towards GDP; Germany (45.1 percent) is at 24th position; UK (40.4 percent) at 42nd; Japan (33.5 percent) at 73rd; and China (22.6 percent) is at 147th ranking. The USA (15.6 percent) and Russia (20.6 percent) are 190th and 161st positions respectively. Whereas, Pakistan with 11.9 percent of revenue contribution to GDP, is at 203rd

position and just ahead of India's (9.3 percent) on 209th position.⁷⁰

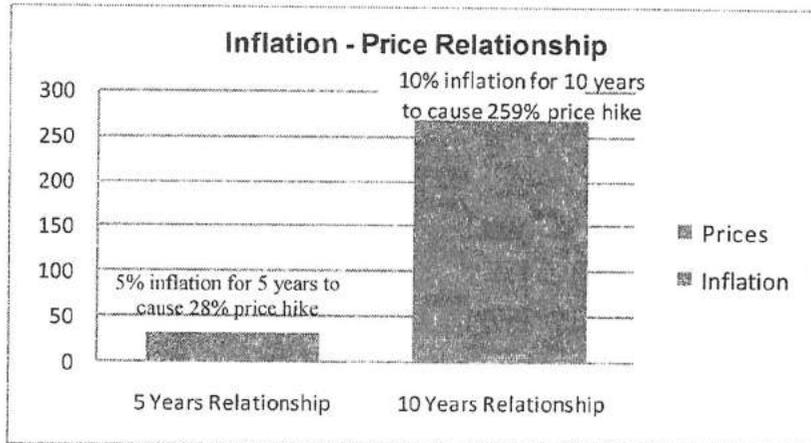


Inflation

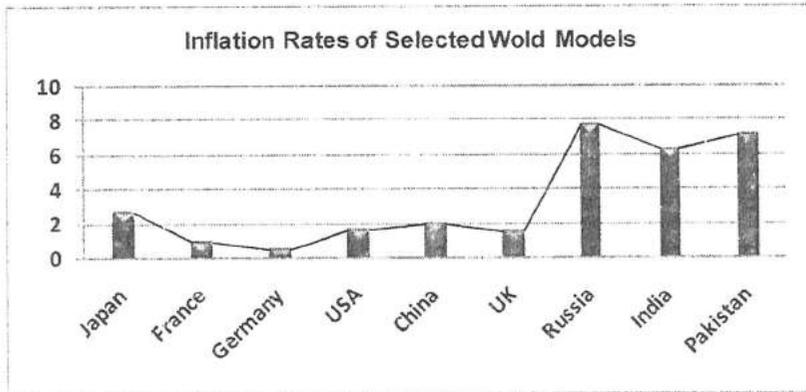
Economic strategists also argue that economic growth is also directly linked with low country's inflation rate. Inflation has been explained by many economic scientists in different ways; however, two fundamental definitions of inflation have been given by M. Bronfenbrenner and F.D Holzmann, two leading economists of 20th century. As per their definitions: (1) Inflation is a condition of generalized excess demand, in which "too much money chases too few goods"; and (2) Inflation is a rise of the money stock or money income, either total or per capita.⁷¹

Inflation has serious social and economic effects and all governments respond to curb it. There is difference between the robber inflation and ordinary thief: inflation betrays public trust in a currency, whereas the holdup man betrays no trust, as the victim never placed confidence in him.⁷² The most negative effect of inflation is price hike which adversely target the poor segment of the society. Economists claim that the accumulative effect of inflation is multiple in terms of price rise. If the annual inflation rate is 5 percent and continues for five years, price will rise about 28 percent. As a

thumb rule, "If the rate is 10 percent and is compounded for 10 years, price will rise from an index of 100 to an index of 259..... Once this virus gets into the system, powerful antibodies are required to counteract it."⁷³ Hence, all the great and sustainable economies always keep monitoring the inflation rate and endeavour to keep it low.



As per databank of The World Bank, the inflation rate of top ten economies in comparison with Pakistan is listed as under: Japan after showing negative inflation from 2011 to 2014, has indicated 2.7 inflation in 2014; France and Germany have been successful in keeping inflation less than one percent; the US annual inflation rate is at 1.6 percent; China (2 percent), UK (1.5 percent), Russia (7.8 percent), and India (6.4 percent) are next in the ladder. Pakistan with alarming 9.7 percent in 2012 has shown little improvement of 7.2 percent in 2014.⁷⁴ This has been the major cause of uncontrolled price hike and fragile economy.



Certain research institutions have also worked out states ranking in terms of low inflation rate. As per CIA's Fact Book, Northern Mariana Islands with lowest inflation rate of -2.5 percent is at the top of the slot; Nauru with -2.1 percent and Bulgaria with -1.4 percent are 2nd and 3rd in the list; France, Germany, and UK are at 47th, 53rd and 83rd positions respectively; the other leading economies include the US at 85th, China at 100th, Japan at 120th, India at 179th and Russia is at 213th in ranking. Pakistan's number is 207th out of 22 states listed in the report.⁷⁵

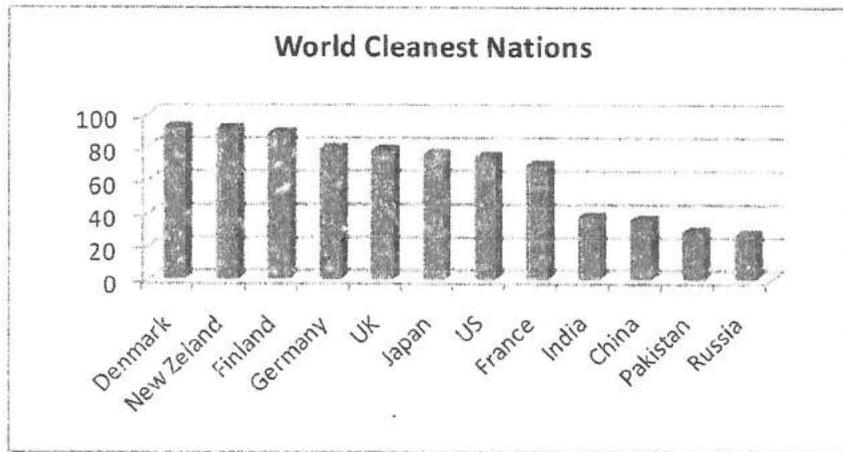
Corruption

Good governance and anticorruption are synonyms in a state's functions today – especially among the developing nations. Empirical studies of nations rise and fall reveals that corruption is the foremost threat to their prosperity. Corruption is spreading like a cancer in public sector – especially in third world countries – and the ultimate sufferers are the poor masses. Corruption is a disease that threatens the hopes of the poor: for a better future for themselves and their children.⁷⁶ Corruption in today's world is neither an individual act nor subject of one state; it's a global phenomena. In countries, developed and developing, large or small, market-oriented or otherwise, because of accusations of corruption, governments have fallen, prominent politicians (including presidents of countries and prime ministers) have lost their

official positions, and, in some cases, whole political classes have been replaced.⁷⁷

Corruption has been defined by many scholars giving its different connotations. But the most crisp and comprehensive definition of corruption has been given by The World Bank and Transparency International which states, “abuse of public power for private benefits.”⁷⁸ Analysts have divided corruption into various classes. It is, however, not necessary that corruption exists in public sector only – rather it prevails in private sector as well. But since the distribution of all valuable benefits and services is under the direct control of public administration, therefore, corruption in public offices directly pinches the general masses. Moreover, corruption is not restricted to receiving or giving bribe – rather it may be in the form of a large scale benefit. As regards to its typology, the IMF classifies corruption into seven categories which include: bureaucratic or political; cost reducing or benefit enhancing; briber-initiated or bribe-initiated; coercive or collusive; centralized or decentralized; predictable or arbitrary; and, involving cash or not.⁷⁹

As per the survey report of Transparency International – Corruption Perception Index 2014 – out of 182 countries Denmark, Finland and New Zealand are considered as cleanest most nations in the world. These countries share the 1st slot in the index with least recorded corruption in 2014. Germany ranks 12th, whereas, UK and Japan are at 14th and 15th positions respectively. The U.S occupies 17th slot whereas France is at 26th in the index. India and China at 85th and 100th position, followed by Russia at 136th. Pakistan’s status in cleanest nations in the world is 126th (Graph 3.13). Somalia and North Korea have been rated as most corrupt nations in the world.⁸⁰



Tackling with the corruption disease effectively and eliminating it from public ranks is top priority of every government albeit politically a highly complex issue. The development of a successful and operationally effective anticorruption mechanism is perhaps a grave challenge.

As regards to dealing with corruption in an effective way, political and economic thinker support democracy – as a politically elected representatives are accountable by the people. This philosophy suggests two level of strategy for minimising corruption in the public sector: first, initiating measure to reduce corruption among politicians or government office bearers; and second, dealing with the public officials.

Dealing with corruption in a representative government system, followers of populism – political philosophy of grass-roots democracy, and liberalism advocate different approaches. Populism suggests replacement of professional politicians with one who profess not to be professional. Liberalism, conversely, suggest addressing the issue differently: (1) by instituting a system of check and balances, rational bureaucratic administration, codes of conduct for politicians and public servants and independent audits; (2) by reducing the temptations in various ways – for example, by offering relatively high salaries to elected politicians and

public servants; and, (3) by reducing the opportunities for corrupt practice by taking government out of certain area and reducing the scope for administrative discretion.⁸¹

As regards to corruption minimisation strategies in public sector, theorists advocate different approaches which may include either or combination of followings: (one) installing an efficient system of reporting corruption; (two) punishing the organisational black sheep – management need to take, and be seen taking, effective actions against corrupt behaviour (including systemic change) in order to convince employees of the value of reporting actions⁸² – as well rewarding the honest ones, means following stick and carrot policy; and, (three) creating and promoting ethical organisational culture which should impede corruption – organisational culture and ethics research has shown that the ethical tone of an organisation impacts upon efficiency and effectiveness, decision-making processes, staff commitment and job satisfaction, and reduces staff stress and staff turnover (Zipparo 1998).⁸³

Security – the State's First Duty

“You will no doubt agree with me,” said the founder of Pakistan Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, while addressing the 1st Constituent Assembly on 11 August, 1947, “that the first duty of a Government is to maintain law and order, so that the life, property and religious beliefs of its subjects are fully protected by the state.”⁸⁴

Viewing today's national and international security environment one cannot agree more with Jinnah's vision that what he predicted sixty-six years before is still relevant. A peaceful, safe and nonviolent country environment is the demand of every citizen and the dream of all statesmen. Nelson Mandela – the great South African leader – once said, “I dream of an Africa which is in peace with itself.”⁸⁵ The need of a comprehensive and foolproof security has never been so warranted as it is today – especially after the fall of twin towers on September 11, 2001.

The 9/11 tragedy was the most drastic event of the current human history which reshaped the dynamics of the whole world. There were many remarks on the fiasco by various leaders and scholars but the crispest and most comprehensive statement was made by President George W. Bush, "The world changed on September the 11th, and since that day, we have changed the world."⁸⁶ And, it was rightly so as the phenomenon of national security transformed into a global verity with the fall of twin towers. There was, probably, not even a single country that had not suffered – directly or indirectly – the reverberations of the dreadful event. It will, however, not be wrong to say that the gravest impact of 9/11 transpired on Pakistan. Besides hammering its security paradigm, the 9/11 has shaken the complete social fibre of the country.

The event of September 11, 2001 has revolutionized the domestic security discipline as a part of the global post-9/11 security calculus. Furthermore, the political and academic debate about this phenomenon still leaves much to be desired.

Security Concept

The concept of security has been defined by many philosophical thinkers around the world. According to Arnold Wolfers – a renowned American political thinker of realist paradigm – a nation's security is nothing but security or preserving certain core societal value i.e. national interests.⁸⁷ This normative character of national security leads Wolfers to state that security "in an objective sense measures the absence of threats to acquired values, and in a subjective sense, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked."⁸⁸ This definition of security indicates that security encompasses both psychological and physical elements of threat. Moreover, in his various publications, Wolfers also made a distinction of national security by saying: security "may not mean the same thing for different people."⁸⁹ The views from Arnold Wolfers have also been endorsed by various other logicians including Dr. Ann Fitz-Gerald – a Professor in Cranfield University's Department of Management and Security at the Defence

Academy of the United Kingdom – who states that: “national security differs from country to country and indeed from institution to institution.”⁹⁰

The contextual narrations of different security definitions and its characteristics explicate the very fact that all nation-states operate in their specific environment and, hence, need specific security approaches to safeguard their core societal values.

In order to conduct conceptual analysis of national security concept, one needs to test various hypothesis and construct new theories. David Baldwin – a senior political scientist at the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University, USA – identified seven specific questions for the analysis of the security concept: Security for whom? Security for which values? How much security? From what threats? By what means? At what cost? And, in what time period?⁹¹ The objective scrutiny of these questions leads to identifying state's interests – political, economic, security, environmental, and moral – as well measures to secure these interests by crafting a comprehensive national security strategy. According to Richard Doyle's illustration, “A nation's national security strategy represents a nation's plan for the coordinated use of all the instruments of state power – non-military as well as military – to pursue objectives that defend and advance the national interest.”⁹²

The post-9/11 international system has generated a dire need of a framing and institutionalizing a comprehensive national security strategy. It merits development of national-level grand plan designed to achieve goals set to safeguard the best national interests and facilitate a state playing its significant role as actor in the international anarchic system.

The term national security refers to the safeguarding of people, territory, and way of life. It includes protection from physical assault and in that sense is similar to the term defence. In one definition the phrase is commonly asserted to mean “physical security, defined as the protection against

attack on the territory and the people of the United States in order to ensure survival with fundamental values and institutions intact; promotion of values; and economic prosperity.”⁹³ However, since 9/11 the phrase homeland security has been frequently heard from various quarters – American leaders and scholars – as a national strategy to install effective measures against domestic terrorism in the country. One of the more public pronouncements of homeland security can be traced to President Bush’s Executive Order 13228 in 2001, which created the Office of Homeland Security. Its definition identifies, “. . . the mission of homeland security as implementation of a comprehensive national strategy is to secure the U.S. from terrorist threats or attacks.”⁹⁴ However, the U.S. Quadrennial Homeland Security Review Report, 2010, explains the concept of homeland security as: “A safe and secure homeland must mean more than preventing terrorists’ attacks from being carried out. It must also ensure that the liberties of all Americans are assured, privacy is protected, and the means by which we interchange with the world – through travel, lawful immigration, trade, commerce, and exchange – are secured. Ultimately, homeland security is about effectively managing risks to the Nation’s security.”⁹⁵

In this book the term homeland security is used for implementing measures to fight terrorism at home and maintain country’s law and order situation for the protection of lives and properties of general masses.

All countries formulate their national security plans covering various approaches of domestic and trans-frontier security. The post-9/11 scenario has forced nations to revisit their security plans meeting the new challenges. Keeping in view the sensitivity of the data, all such strategies are highly classified and are not open to public access. Hence, a very limited quantity of literature is available for evaluation. A number of countries confronted with prolonged periods of insecurity present valuable information to be taken as case-study in formulating own security plan.

Besides the U.S. security strategies in the aftermath of 9/11, and the U.K. model of counterinsurgency (COIN)

campaign commonly known as, “winning hearts and minds”, the other case-studies include the countries which have fought long and sustained insurgencies. The security models of Sri Lanka and Columbia are worth analysing to see how well or bad they have performed in meeting their national security challenges.

The Sri Lankan Model

“We have liberated the whole country from LTTE terrorism we all must now live as equals in this free country,”⁹⁶ stated by Sri Lankan president, Mahinda Rajapaksa during his speech on May 19, 2009. His legendary remarks marked the defeat of Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and an end of the 36 years long and bloody COIN campaign of Sri Lankan history. It was, without a doubt, the first COIN victory of the twenty-first century.⁹⁷



Geography of Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka (Map 3.1)⁹⁸ – then Ceylon – got independence from British in 1948. By inheriting vibrant economy, stable parliamentary system and one of the highest human development indices in Asia, Sri Lanka was believed to take off for success. But due to the boiling tensions between two major

ethnic groups – the Sinhalese and the Tamils – the country soon plunged into: first, minor political conflicts; followed by the brutal ethnic violence and finally the enormously costly insurgency.

Before independence the country had been ruled by Tamil minority. However, their influence and power reduced gradually by majority Sinhalese. The differences between the two kept growing with the passage of time.

On July 23, 1983, the Tamil insurgents (LTTE) killed thirteen Sri Lankan soldiers near Jaffna – mostly from Sinhalese community. In response Sinhalese civilian groups assaulted Tamil civilians in the south. Although the exact number of civilians is disputed, estimates range from 400 to 3000.⁹⁹ The situation ignited the civil war which lasted for twenty seven years paying a heavy price of approximately ten million people.

The Sri Lankan history presents a good case-study for examination with reference to its nature and origin of conflict, and the military campaign – especially the COIN campaign between 2006 and 2009 and its assessment of success at strategic level. The major reason of studying Sri Lankan model is to determine its applicability to Pakistan's environment.

As regards to nature of the conflict, it was simply between two ethnic and religious communities – the Sinhalese and Tamils – with enormously different culture. The conflict emerged in the wake of rising Tamil ethnic separatism that stemmed from discrimination and violence at the hands of the entrenched power of the Sinhalese majority.¹⁰⁰ Both the groups migrated from the Indian subcontinent and co-existed in the island as two distinct communities – with different religions, languages even physical appearance. They survived under British rule with negligible episodes of conflicts. However, after independence their differences grew over distribution of resources.

The spread of education and development of mass media also contributed in articulating their respective nationalist narrative. In short the elites in both the communities begun to see one another as rivals for resources and power. Tamil – considering themselves deprived and oppressed – initiated an armed struggle in the late 1970s against the Sinhalese-dominated state.

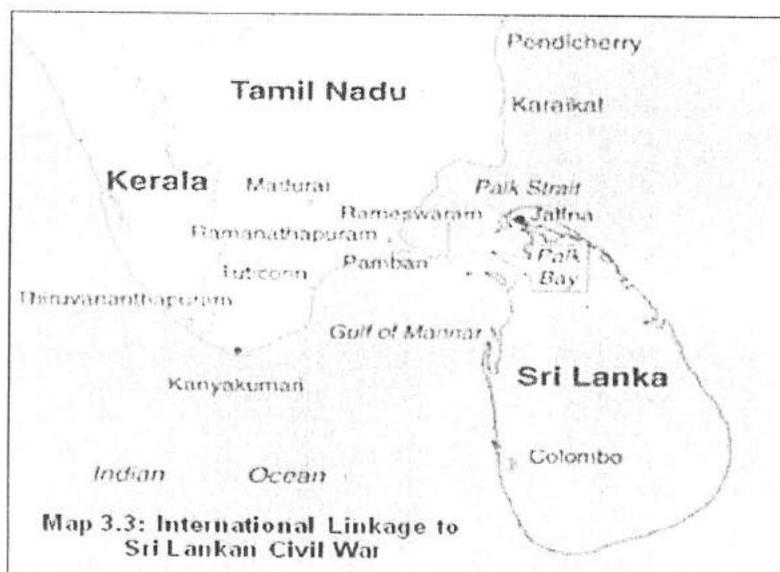
The classification of the war is also not very intricate to explain: one, it was an internal rising rather than a trans-frontier aggression; two, the Sri Lankan state considered LTTE a terrorist organisation and a threat to its security, territorial integrity, and authority – albeit, Tamil viewed LTTE as a national liberation movement fighting for their people's right of self-determination; and, three, in the post-9/11 world scenario, the nationalist movements all over the world lost international sympathy – like Kashmir and Chechens, Tamils also suffered the negative fallout of 9/11 – making Sri Lankan government case even stronger in launching the final blow against the insurgents.

The prolonged years of civil war jolted the Sri Lankan administration. Until as late as mid 2000 no worthwhile success was recorded by the state. International sensitivities, fear of interference from hostile neighbour – India, with moral and material support from Tamil Nadu to LTTE¹⁰¹ – were main obstructions in ensuring peace in the country.



By 2006, when the government decided to go all out against the Tamils, the overall situation was worst from a state's perspective. The government frustration and successive failures let LTTE grew into a professional outfit. LTTE was able to raise well equipped and professional force with infantry, artillery, naval gunships and a fleet of stealth boats on their inventory. Furthermore, the death squads of suicide bombers were the main weapons in their arsenal. Eventually the separatists had established a state within the state. Jaffna peninsula was completely under their control where they imposed their own rules and taxes (Map 3.2).¹⁰²

The flow of weapons from international underworld to their doorstep had never been a problem due to assistance from sympathisers in the next-door neighbour – Indian state of Tamil Nadu (Map 3.3)¹⁰³ – as well the Tamil diasporas – a demographic group of Tamil people from India and Sri Lanka origin spread from Australasia to Caribbean. One of the main reasons of early failure of Sri Lanka in settling the insurgency was due to its powerful international linkage. It is also an open secret that Tamil Tigers had established their offices abroad with the close cooperation and assistance of Tamil Diasporas through which they generated financial contributions for their operations inside Sri Lanka.



The international connection of the Tamil separatist movement met serious blow with the fall of twin towers in New York on September 11, 2001. Finally the year of 2005 proved decisive to the movement when Mahinda Rajapaksa, as the candidate of the United People's Freedom Alliance (UPFA), was elected as Sri Lankan President. At that time, the Sri Lankan government was in the midst of ongoing peace talks and a precarious cease-fire agreement with LTTE.¹⁰⁴ The newly elected president took full advantage of the changed world order and opted to launch the decisive crackdown on the insurgents.

The military campaign between 2006 and 2009 was violent and even brutal but ended in defeating militants, marking an end to the three decades old civil war. During the operations, the Sri Lankan leadership and armed forces took bold and difficult decisions in eradicating the terrorism.

The first challenge was isolating LTTE from international support. The government and forces moves included the cutting off the LTTE supply line by capturing and destroying their armed vessels operating within Sri Lankan economic zone. LTTE had a sizeable cargo fleet which they used for shipment of arms.

Geography of Columbia



The ships used to fly the common flags of convenience, like those of Panama, Honduras, or Liberia.¹⁰⁵ Sri Lankan Navy destroyed almost half of the private cargo fleet. Furthermore, the government tracked down the flow of funds to separatists and successfully guarded it. These moves helped in delinking the LTTE from foreign funding and assistance.

On domestic front the successful military operations inflicted heavy toll to militants. The LTTE were forced under siege in Jaffna and their links with militants in eastern region were severed. This not only depleted the fighting capability of the militants but also created a wedge between the insurgents and their leadership which played around to the advantage of state forces.

The multi-strategy of the armed forces with full backing of the Sri Lankan leadership and the armed forces weakened the Tamil resistance and ultimately forced them to surrender to the writ of the state on 19 May, 2009. However, Sri Lanka, as a state, needs to do much more in winning the hearts and minds of the people.

The Columbian Model

Columbia has fought a long and brutal insurgency for over forty years – one of the longest-lasting insurgency of the world. The roots of the insurgency in Columbia could be traced back in 1940s and 1950s, when, during brutal violence between Liberal and Conservative parties took a toll of estimated 200,000 human lives.¹⁰⁶ Two main guerrilla groups, National Liberation Army (ELN) and Revolutionary Armed Forces of Columbia (FARC) – both emerged in 1960s – challenged the central government significantly during 1980s and 1990s. The ELN established its strong foothold in the northeast oil rich region; whereas FARC controlled almost two-third of the country. At the same time, so-called paramilitaries, organised under the umbrella of United Self-Defence Forces of Columbia (AUC), established themselves as another force in the Columbian conflict.¹⁰⁷

However, FARC being the major rival of the state kept growing in its size and capability. From limited and small-scale attacks on military and police units in 1980s, the FARC was able to launch full-scale operation on Columbian Army in late 1990s.

The change in strategic environments since 2002 and the successful COIN campaign of President Alvaro Uribe brought two key developments in Columbia: first, significant weakening of the FARC; and two, demobilization of the paramilitary formations.¹⁰⁸

The Uribe government prepared a comprehensive policy – called, “Policy for the Consolidation of Democratic Security” (PCSD) – to tackle the issue with five objectives: : (1) to consolidate territorial control and strengthen the rule of law across the entire national territory; (2) to protect the public and hold on to the strategic initiative against all threats to citizen security; (3) to drastically raise the cost of trafficking drugs in Colombia; (4) to keep the public security forces modern and effective, with a high level of legitimacy based on public confidence and support; and (5) to maintain the downward trend in all crime rates in the country’s urban centres.¹⁰⁹

In order to achieve these goals, the Columbian government initiated various bold steps which included: expanding and strengthening the armed forces – 50% increase in the strength was recorded both in the Army and police from 2002 to 2009; and, enhancing armed forces mobility and intelligence capability. This helped the government in establishing its territorial control and proving its presence in almost whole of the country – means weakening of FARC and demobilizing the AUC.

The FARC movement had a strong foreign element, too – especially the next-door neighbouring Venezuela which provided safe heavens to the militants of the FARC with their permanent camps and field hospitals. Furthermore, some influential figures from inner circles of Venezuelan president

Chavez had been providing moral, political and material support to the FARC. In addition, Chavez was believed to have provided thousands of Colombians, including many FARC members, with Venezuelan identity papers.¹¹⁰ Chavez's assistance to FARC was, too, not political but far beyond strategic in nature. It included close coordination with the top leadership of the FARC, monetary contribution and even plan to provide surface-to-air missiles, sniper rifles and wireless sets.

The international linkage of the FARC was not restricted to Venezuela only. The captured documents revealed close association of the FARC with Ecuador top officials also.¹¹¹



Despite enjoying all the international support, the FARC failed to achieve its goal of overthrowing the established political order and its replacement with a socialist state. The main reason for their failure was the strategic strength of Colombian government which included in the form of: firstly, their commitment to democracy; secondly, the popular and competent leadership – especially President Alvaro Uribe and his successor Juan Manuel Santos; and, finally, the U.S. political and material assistance during the COIN campaign. It was due to these factors that since 2008, various indications

suggest that the FARC has been destined to defeat – perhaps forever (Map 3.5). In March 2008, three of their seven members of the Secretariat were killed which gave a serious blow to the decision making mechanism of the organisation. In addition a record number of their fighting soldiers have been killed, captured, surrendered or deserted. “At its peak the FARC was organized in some 70 fronts. several of the most important fronts have been severely weakened or dismantled. The morale problems in the FARC are illustrated by the fact that in order to maintain discipline, some FARC commanders have resorted to large-scale executions”¹¹² – which is considered a big jolt to its command and control structure.

The success of Columbia in the world one longest counter insurgency (COIN) history is an important case-study for evaluation, especially from Pakistan perspective. However, the sustained and perpetual peace depends upon on the correct policies and timely decisions of the future Columbian leadership.

The UK Model

Before the start of nineteenth century, Great Britain was a peaceful land. The civil war of 1745 and religious sectarian riots of 1780 against the Catholic Relief Act of 1778 were the few footprints of violence in their history of 250 years of perpetual peace. The nineteenth century witnessed a brief uprising by Chartists – British working class movement for parliamentary reforms in 1829 – which was swiftly suppressed.¹¹³ In the inter-war period perceiving internal threat, the Emergency Power Act-1920 was introduced and troops were used in 1926 in aid of civil power during the General Strike.

Despite the long history of internal peace, certain factors compelled Great Britain to respond to internal security challenges which included: (1) the violent legacy of coercion, religious and political conflicts, partition and suppressed civil war in Ireland; (2) in the early twentieth century, the British

experience in confronting the use of terrorism by anti-colonial movements and the process of decolonisation from 1945 to 1970; and (3) terrorism emanating from the Northern Ireland conflict from the 1970s to the mid-1990s, the worst terrorism experienced in any European country in that period.¹¹⁴

Two significant queries generate from the above historic realities: the role of the British Army in countering terrorism; and, the key lessons learned from the Northern Ireland conflict.

The fabric of the liberal democracy of Great Britain got brutally injured during its twenty five years of violent communal conflicts in Northern Ireland. The conflict originated in 1921 with the division of Ireland. The Protestants (53 percent majority) in Northern Ireland defined themselves as British and largely supported continued incorporation in the UK (they were called the unionists). The Catholics (44 percent minority) considered themselves as Irish, and desired a united Ireland (they were called the nationalists).¹¹⁵ The rift between various societal factions resulted into a struggle for their national, cultural, and religious identities. The worst period of violence sparked in late 1968 with civil rights movement by Catholics.

There were three forces involved in the conflict:¹¹⁶ (1) the nationalists – the Catholic minorities of Northern Ireland also known as Irish Republicans; (2) the loyalists – the Protestants typified to a militant opposition to Irish Republicans for their Ulster Protestant identity; and, (3) the state forces fighting mostly against the Irish Republicans as loyalist movement.

The British COIN campaign in Ireland is an important case study and considered one of those successful COIN operations in which state forces defeated the insurgents. The British army was deployed in 1969 to counter the militant forces in Northern Ireland drawing upon the classic British “hearts and minds” COIN theory. The four requirements – the inter-related principles – of the theory included: first, demonstrating “political will” to defeat the insurgents as the

key to victory; second, the importance of “the battle for hearts and minds” of the affected population; third, “police primacy” over the army in defeating insurgents; and finally, the importance of civil-military coordination to bring together all the elements of a successful COIN campaign.¹¹⁷

The British government fought the long and sustained COIN campaign emphasising on the state's political will in defeating the insurgents. British Army was deployed to curb the militancy but it would not be wrong to say that the settlement of the Irish conflict transpired politically and not militarily. This theory of political resolve does not invalidate use of hard power in combating acts of terrorism but authorises minimal use of force in such situations. During the period of fierce insurgency in Northern Ireland, the role assigned to the British armed forces was to create compelling circumstances for militant elements to sit across the negotiating table. Moreover, the force employed came in the form of conventional military operations alongside coercion in the form of food control, passes to travel, employment restrictions, forced resettlement, and detention.¹¹⁸

The leading experts and political philosopher believe that in pursuance of “hearts and minds” battle the political factor plays a vital role so as to deny public support to anti-state elements. General Sir Frank Kitson, a leading British COIN practitioner with experience of Malaya, Kenya and Northern Ireland, argues that, “there can be no such thing as a purely military solution because insurgency is not primarily a military activity”.¹¹⁹

The philosophy of winning “hearts and minds” of the people also carries numerous advantages for state conducting a COIN campaign. It is believed that an insurgent's media for survival is general public – just like water is media for aquatic creature. The COIN experts accord great importance to isolating the insurgent from the public for two major reasons: first, to make people believe that the government is fighting for their cause; and, second, to deny insurgents propagating their cause or use locals as human shields. Paul Dixon

advocate three approaches for winning the battle for “hearts and minds”: first, good governance and nation building – by using military in undertaking a civil project and social project; two, psychological operations – to persuade the local population to support the government (use of media is considered as the best tool of psychological operations); and third, the use of “minimum force” – to avoid co-lateral damages and alienating the local population.¹²⁰

The third unified principle of the British Army in Northern Ireland accentuates the “police primacy” – and other locally recruited-force – over military. Military by all means is a nation’s strategic asset and its employment should be correctly weighed before execution. All nation-states maintain armed forces to defend their geographical borders. However, keeping in view the nature of their training and resources, governments – especially third world countries – call armed forces (mostly Army) for meeting all internal and external challenges. The experts believe that that during COIN campaign police is the first line of defence whereas military should be scarcely used as second line of defence. Furthermore, a local police force is usually more familiar with the terrain, culture and population than the Army and tend to be more adept at gathering intelligence whether on or off duty.¹²¹

Finally, the COIN efforts necessitate that all the national level actors and efforts should be brought on one page before pitching against the insurgents. The history of COIN operations suggests that no individual effort – political, military or social – has yielded fruitful results. Rather, it is a combination of all these elements together with a joint government / police / military approach to the problem, which will counter the efforts of the insurgents, and restore lawful authority (British doctrine: 1970).¹²²

The British fought against an armed insurgency in Northern Ireland for quarter of a century, committed a number of mistakes, and suffered heavily both in terms of human and economic losses. Before Irish Republican Army

(IRA) ceasefire of 31 August 31, 1994 and the loyalist ceasefire six weeks later, 3,400 people were killed and over 20,000 suffered injury; some were left permanently disabled.¹²³ Besides, the UK suffered heavily in terms of economic losses as the industries in Northern Ireland collapsed. The government had to spend about £1 billion during 1990-1 on security forces in Northern Ireland besides paying compensation averaged over £33 million annually. The cost of the conflict in the years of violence is estimated at over £100 million per year. The economic costs can gradually be reversed; the human costs can never be.¹²⁴

After learning from the hard realities and paying heavily, the IRA realized to adapt to the more pragmatic and politically astute solution of the problem. In the backdrop of this bitter veracity that IRA leadership entered into an historic agreement with British government on 10 April, 1998 – the famous Good Friday Agreement. The accord included a devolved, inclusive government, prisoner release and troops reductions. It also encompassed provisions for polls on Irish reunification, and civil rights measures and "parity of esteem" for the two communities in Northern Ireland. The steps marked the final stage of British COIN campaign toward the achievement of the goals set forward by the British government in its COIN campaign of winning "hearts and minds."

The US Model

The dawn of September 11, 2001 was an exceptionally beautiful and shimmering morning¹²⁵ when twin towers of the World Trade Centre were rocked with terrorists' attacks – in the similar fashion as was written by Nostradamus in his prophecies about 500 years before.¹²⁶ The dreadful images of the twin towers, the Pentagon and blazing site of Shanksville jolted the complete American nation. The attacks of September 11 were America's second "day of infamy," the first being Japan's surprise attack on Pearl Harbour on December 7, 1941.¹²⁷ The tragic events of the 9/11 – introducing the reality of asymmetrical warfare – changed the security

dynamic of the entire planet earth. Two immediate actions were initiated by the Bush administration: first, quickly drafting and presenting to the congress an antiterrorist act; and, second, on October 26, 2001, Bush signed the USA Patriot Act into law (PL 107-56)¹²⁸ – an executive order for the establishment of the Office of Homeland Security (OHS). The USA Patriot Act covered following national security matters: enhancing domestic security against terrorism; enhance surveillance procedures; international money laundering abatement and Anti-Terrorist Financing Act of 2001; protecting the borders; removing obstacles to investigate terrorism; providing for victims of terrorism, public safety offices, and their families; increased information sharing for critical infrastructure protection; strengthening the criminal laws against terrorism; and, improved intelligence.¹²⁹

The OHS has been operational since 2001, albeit, funding problem for implementation of the Patriot Act remained a sore point for White House. As regards to its structure, the U.S. president, being the Commander-in-Chief and leader of the executive branch, is uniquely responsible for the safety, security, and resilience of the nation.¹³⁰ The president is assisted by the Secretary of Homeland Security and individual federal agencies.

The OHS revolves around three key concepts which form the foundation for the comprehensive approach to homeland security: (ONE) security – protect the United States' and its people's vital interests and way of life; (TWO), resilience – foster individual, community and system robustness, adoptability, and capacity for rapid recovery; and (THREE) customs and exchange – expedite and enforce lawful trade, travel, and immigration.¹³¹ Basing on these central concepts the OHS has set forward five goals – which are also referred as their core missions: preventing terrorism and enhancing security; security and managing borders; enforcing and administering immigration laws; safeguarding and securing cyberspace; and, ensuring resilience to disasters.¹³²

The most significant and impressive aspect of the overall strategy includes the defined roles and responsibilities to all government functionaries including Federal departments and agencies, state, local, tribe and territorial governments, the private sector as well as private citizens and communities. This truly reflects; firstly, the nation's resolve to fight for the cause of security; and, secondly, a collective and cohesive effort to successfully carrying out and accomplishing the homeland security missions.

Documents such as the National Infrastructure Protection Plan (NIPP), National Response Framework (NRF), documents produced by the National Counterterrorism Centre and Presidential directives spell out roles and responsibilities for various aspects of homeland security.¹³³

The President of the United States of America, as the Commander in Chief and the leader of the Executive Branch of the Federal Government, provides overall homeland security policy direction and coordination through National Security and Homeland Security Council. He is assisted by the Secretary of Homeland Security who leads the OHS and is responsible for carrying out and accomplishing security missions and objectives. Apart from Attorney General, secretaries of State, Defence, Health and Human Services, Treasury, Agriculture, Commerce, Education, and Energy are the important members of the OHS. Besides, Director of National Intelligence and Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) are key elements in the homeland security.

Furthermore, governors, territorial governments, tribal leaders, tribal governments, mayors, local governments, and county leaders are all members of OHS with specific tasks to perform.

The U.S. model of homeland security is the true reflection of all stakeholders on a single page and one point agenda of defending their motherland.

Summary

The theorists of international politics have not been able to develop an academic consensus on one specific definition of a state. They, besides using a set of different interrelated words – state, nation, nation-state and country – also present various approaches on the concept of state and state system. A definition, considered close to the international relations perspective describes a state as “a large social system with a set of rules that are enforced by a permanent administrative body.” The constitution of Pakistan (under article-7) denotes state as an authority which is by law empowered to impose tax.

In the evolution process of the present world order under the UNO, four historic peace processes have played key role. The peace treaty of Westphalia, commonly known as “The Peace of Westphalia”, was signed between May 15 and October 24, 1648 by 109 delegations, marking an end to a period of thirty years war in Europe. The peace treaty is considered as a mile stone and a seedbed of the today’s system of states sovereignty. The other turning point in European history was witnessed in the form of “Treaty of Utrecht-1713.” The treaty signed by major European states including Spain, Great Britain, France, Portugal and Dutch in March-April 1713 in Dutch city of Utrecht. The treaty embodied several concepts of IR including performing diplomacy and helped in maintaining peace in Europe for quite a long period. It is also regarded as architecture of international society. The third evolutionary treaty called, “Congress of Vienna” was signed from September 1814 to June 1815. It was the largest gathering of European sovereigns and diplomats, and proved helpful in maintaining undisturbed peace for almost forty years. The fourth significant pact, “Treaty of Versailles” was signed between Allies and Central powers on 28 June 1919 at the end of World War I. Due to its various controversial clauses and punitive measures against Germany, the treaty turned to be the root-cause of World War II.

After the end of World War II, the U.S. President Roosevelt played an important role towards the development of the United Nations from 1942 to 1945. The UN which started its journey with 51 states, is now consists 193 member states.

The study of nations and the history of their rise and fall cover a wide range of theoretical approaches besides following three fundamental factors: (1) human beings, as basic entity in a state; (2) social and political norms of the society; and, (3) the universally accepted standards. Moreover, states have numerous obligations to perform both at home and abroad. In the domestic politics governments are not just to govern; rather the states' saliencies turn them to the well-being of their masses – that's what is called good governance. In international plane states being unitary actors are required to contribute towards the stability of international system, besides safeguarding their own survival, sovereignty and national interests.

The evaluation of historic account of nations reveals that the performance of their state's institutions has been the main reason of their success or failure in the world theatre. Various organisations and individual analysts have always been working in identifying international standards and assessing comparative position of states.

In the political paradigm, "democracy" has been reckoned as the best form of the government all over the world, surpassing the other four major models of government i.e. republic, monarchy, communism and dictatorship. Today, 165 out of 193 member states of the UN have democratic form of government. Political scientists divide the world regimes in four typologies: full democracies, flawed democracies, hybrid democracies and authoritarian. Only 25 countries (11.3 percent of the world population) are ranked as "full democracies", 54 countries (37.2 percent) rated as "flawed democracies", 37 countries (14.4 percent) are "hybrid democracies", and 51 states (37.1 percent) are ranked as "authoritarian" regimes. Pakistan being at 108th position is classified as "hybrid democracy."

In economic perspective, three theories – geography, culture and ignorance – assist in assessing in the causes of nations' comparative state of prosperity and poverty. Moreover, world organizations, analysts and researchers on the basis of statistical data have drawn baseline in establishing the relative positions of state. These indicators include GDP including its growth rate and per capita, trade volume, infrastructure development, education and technological advancement, revenue collection, inflation and corruption.

In terms of GDP, USA with \$15.6 trillion, China with approximately \$21.3 trillion and Japan with about \$6 trillion, are ranked top three world economies. Pakistan is at 44th position with \$231 billions of GD. In relation to GDP growth rate China has shown 7.8 percent growth rate in 2012 and is at 20th position in the world. Pakistan's ranking is far below in the table at 92nd position with just 3.7 percent of growth rate. Similarly, in comparison of GPD per capita, USA with the figure of almost \$50,000 is at the top. Japan with \$46,720 and Germany with \$41,514 are occupant of next two slots in the world ranking. Pakistan with just \$1290 of GDP per capita has to cover a long journey.

Even in the rest of the economic indicators Pakistan's economic health has not shown up to the rank performance. For example, it is ranked 71st in exports and 25th in imports; where other nations spend over 100 percent of their GDP spending (both public and private) on infrastructure development, Pakistan's spending is only 18.4 percent; in education sector it ranks 139th out of 153 countries and spends just 2.4 percent of GDP in the sector; the country's revenue collection is just 11.9 percent of GDP (203rd position in the world); inflation is as high as 9.7 percent with 198/224 world ranking; in corruption index, Pakistan's position is 139th in cleanest nations.

In security paradigm four international models help in finding solution to the ongoing internal unrest in Pakistan: Sri Lankan and Columbian models of COIN campaign which proved to be successful in defeating the insurgents at home

and marking end to the long histories of civil wars; the UK model based on the theory of winning “hearts and minds” which brought back peace after the history of terrorism spread over quarter of century period; and the US model of homeland security evolved after the tragic events of the 9/11.

Notes

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3

THE CASE-STUDY OF PAKISTAN: Past Performance

“After all Pakistan was the creation of one clever man, Jinnah: the difference between a slick political trick and a mass movement was apparent in the contrast between Karachi and New Delhi.”

John Gunther, American Journalist

“If Pakistan cannot be described as a failed state, it is not a success story either”

Hassan Askari

“Pakistan is not a failed state but a mismanaged one.”

Shah Mahmood Qurishi

“Pakistan cannot be termed as a failed state, it is, however, subjected to various problems of administrative nature.”

Ali Jan Aurakzai

“The only threat is sectarian and religious terrorism, which is eating us like termites. . . . We all have to fight against it.”

Pervez Musharraf

“Pakistan (is) the most dysfunctional – and most dangerous
country in the world.”

Nicholas Schmidle

“Pakistan – if not failing – at least a state not fulfilling the hopes of many people”

Stephen P. Cohan

THE CASE-STUDY OF PAKISTAN: Past Performance

This chapter is aimed at conducting an in-depth case-study of Pakistan with a view to analyse its potentials and chances of becoming a proud and prosperous nation in the comity of nations. There are two research questions which require inquiry in this chapter. The main question of the chapter states: "Does Pakistan possess ingredients (political, economic and security) of attaining the status of a respectable actor in the world society?" The subsidiary question with equal weightage is: "What are the reasons of Pakistan's poor performance (in political and economic spheres) in both domestic and international arena?"

In order to find answers to both the above research questions, the discussion in this chapter has been divided in three parts. The first part covers the brief account of Pakistan's institutional performance in political, economic and security realms. This portion generates discussion on Pakistan's three main institutions – political, economic and security – by further dividing the portion in three periods of history i.e. pre and post-1971 periods, and the present era commenced with the holocaust of September 11, 2001.

The second part focuses on the in-depth inquiry on the real potentials of the country which could have made or can help the state in carving an economically prosperous and politically proud nation. The third part of the chapter, after briefly conducting the comparative study of the country's past performance viz-a-viz its potentials, aims at carrying out critical inquiry of reasons of the country's under-par performance, especially that of its political, economic and security institutions

Brief Rundown of Pakistan's Performance

The Islamic Republic of Pakistan is the first country which emerged on the world map on the basis of an ideology, and occupies a central position at the world culture and politics.

Due to its geo-strategic location viz-a-viz the great global players regional interests especially those of the U.S.A., its influence in the Islamic Ummah (world), its participation in some events of historic importance like the Afghan War (1979-1989) and ongoing WOT, and the wrangling history of its relation with next-door India, Pakistan has always engrossed the attention of the great game players. During the British occupation, the place what is now Pakistan, became a principal theatre in the Great Game, played by the West against Russia for regional dominance. Pakistan's role as geopolitical fulcrum grew after independence, alternately aligning itself with the East, the West, and as an independent in its foreign policy.¹

It is generally asserted by Pakistani intelligentsia that due to the active involvement of the global powers in Pakistan's domestic affairs – especially the U.S. – in pursuit of their national interests, the country could not formulate an independent internal as well foreign policy. The argument has, however, been negated by several international scholars who believe that the domestic institutions and leadership – what is called as the domestic politics – of a country shape its response to the foreign influence by setting their own preferences. If India sets off a bomb, actors in Pakistan decide how to respond. If the United States presses Japan on trade barriers, it is actors in Japan who decide whether to accede or resist.² The debate, however, merits due investigation in a realist paradigm so as to ascertain the validity of the above claim and identify the weaknesses in Pakistan's decision-making apparatus.

The history of Pakistan can be discussed into four broad periods of time: pre-1947 era i.e. the movement and creation of Pakistan; 1947-1971 i.e. the period of united Pakistan; 1972-2001 i.e. pre-9/11 period; and 2001 to date i.e. post-9/11 period.

Pre-1947: Before the Crack of Dawn

There have been a lot of discussions on foreign influence in the domestic politics and security dynamics of Pakistan. Political and social circles in Pakistan do believe that the foreign persuasion in the country's internal dynamics started just after the creation of Pakistan which kept growing in magnitude with the passage of time and changing national and international circumstances. The fact is a bit different as the global great powers had always been interested in the subcontinent's geo-strategic location and its future role in the world politics. Moreover, they kept a close eye on the changing political scenarios in the United-India. However, a very little literature is available on the role played by the great global players – especially the U.S. and the former U.S.S.R. – during the movement of independence of India from British rule and the partition of British India.

The study of the international environment prevailing before 1947 can reveal the verity of interests of the world political actors in division of British India, creation of two independent and sovereign states, and their efforts to engage them to their respective block for safeguarding their strategic objectives in South Asia.

The decade of 1940s had been action-packed as several dramatic scenes emerged on international theatre. As the freedom movement in the subcontinent moved to its climax, the picture on world canvas also changed its colours which ultimately favoured the partition agenda of the British India. The year of 1945 marked the end of World War II, the largest and most destructive conflict of human history, which resulted in an estimated 65 million³ deaths from battle (military) worldwide. Estimated deaths not associated with the battle were over 35 million.⁴ Defeated Germany was in turmoil and in no position to play a global role. War torn Britain and France also wanted respite to reconstruct their physical and psychological damages of the two successive wars. This phenomenon sound more relevant to the Great Britain as it found to be helpless in front of independence demand of the

people of India. The financially strapped London could no longer help Greece and Turkey against the communist threat.⁵ Due to raging civil war, China had no international standing. Above all, the charter of the newly emerged United Nations also favoured the right of self-determination to nations across the globe. The whole international scene then revolved around two powers – the U.S. and the former U.S.S.R.

After defeating Germany in the World War II, and getting engaged in a vigorous global struggle – transforming into the Cold War – with the United States of America, the former Soviet Union supported the freedom movement of India. The Russian revolution of 1905-1907 helped to forge new bonds between the Indian national liberation movement and the Russian progressive movement against Tsarist autocracy. The common ground between the two movements was their direction against despotism, foreign in case of India and indigenous in Russia.⁶

Though, the former Soviet Union supported the freedom movement of India but initially they never wanted division of the British-India. The Pakistani demand raised on 23 March, 1940, was considered in Moscow as part of the British policy to weaken the solidarity of the nationalist forces.⁷ However, they had to concede to the wishes of Muslims of India who remained subservient to the imperialist British rule. The Russian interest in ultimately favouring the Indian partition agenda could also be seen in two context: first, in the absence of the British rule Soviets Union was geographically, economically and militarily better placed to exercise its influence on both the newly emerged states for advancement of its objectives in the region; and second, both the newly emerged states – being economically and militarily weak – could fulfil the Tsarist Russian century old quest for warm water. The Soviet Union had already started their work much before 1940s in the form of meetings with the Indian leaders especially the congress leaders.

The Soviet Revolution of October 1917 also had a persuasive effect on the ongoing independence movement in

India. The fact was also admitted by the British viceroy in India, Lord Chelmsford and other British officials. In 1918, in his report to the British government on constitutional reforms, Chelmsford admitted that the revolution in Russia had been received in India as a victory over despotism and that it had given an impetus to the development of political aspirations in India.⁸ Even the Congress leaders – especially Gandhi – were highly impressed with Russian revolution and Bolshevik ideal. Later in 1927, Nehru also visited Moscow to participate in ten year celebrations of Russian revolution. And when appointed a Vice-President of the interim government, Nehru in his first broadcast on September 7, 1946 greeted the Soviet Union which, he said, “Carries a great responsibility for shaping world events”, and added that: “as neighbours in Asia we shall have to undertake many common tasks and much to do with each other.”⁹

In 1947, the U.S. stood at the peak of its post-war power and prestige. Being British ally in the World War II and the close cooperation between the U.S. President Roosevelt and British Premier Churchill in establishment of the United Nations, the United State of America initially supported the British denial of freedom to the subcontinent as well the partition of British India.

The U.S. position on political dynamics of the subcontinent had also close linkage with other international events such as: China – where the U.S. supported nationalists – was steadily losing grounds to its communist foes, the U.S. never wanted to open a front of turmoil in Asia; the global struggle between the Soviet Union and the United State was hardening into the Cold War; financially strapped London also informed Washington that it could no longer help Greece and Turkey against the communist threat; and, the U.S. was also concerned about events in the Middle East, where a beleaguered Britain was unable to satisfy either Arab inhabitants of Palestine or Jewish immigrants demanding a separate homeland.¹⁰

President Roosevelt, however, had been closely monitoring the changing situations through his personal envoy to India, William Phillips. During World War II, both President Roosevelt and Phillips expressed their dislikes over the idea of partition of British India.¹¹ Nonetheless, once the British government decided to concede to the wishes of the people of India and grant them freedom, the U.S. also compromised his policy but still maintained its position of keeping the British India intact. Even after Harry S. Truman took over the oath as 33rd U.S. president on April 12, 1945, there was no shift in the U.S. policy towards India.

To the Indian domestic front, both the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League contested 1945-46 elections for the Indian constituent assembly with opposing manifestation: Congress wanted a united India; and, the Muslim League urged its division into two separate and independent states. The election results greatly strengthened the league's hand when it won the vast majority of Muslim seats.¹² However, both the U.S. and the Indian imperial master, Great Britain, never accepted the Muslims verdict and continued their diplomatic efforts in affecting the Muslim League's principle stance.

In March 1946, London dispatched a three-person cabinet mission – Sir Stafford Cripps, Lord Pethick Lawrence, and A. V. Alexander – in the hope that the trio could devise a plan to preserve the unity of India that was acceptable to both the Congress and the League.¹³ Furthermore, the U.S. head of the Office of Near Eastern and African affairs, Loy Henderson, responsible for the subcontinent, had been downplaying the Muslim League's significance in Indian politics and its sweep in the constituent assembly elections. The U.S. media had also shown hostile attitude towards the idea of Pakistan. The cover of the April 22, 1946, issue of "Time" pictured a grim-looking Jinnah with caption, "His Moslem tiger wants to eat the Hindu cow"¹⁴

The most deciding reason of the U.S. acceptance of the division of British India and especially the creation of Pakistan

was the "Jinnah Factor". A number of the U.S. officials involved in the Indian politics admitted the leadership skills and statesmanship of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah in advancing the cause of Muslims of India.¹⁵ During the independence movement, the U.S. diplomats in India were tasked to report regular assessments on the unfolding political scenarios. In all such reports, telegrams and dispatches they appreciated the Jinnah's leadership and his negotiating skills. For example, in 1939, the "New York Times" published a series of articles about the growing popularity of the League and Jinnah. The famous American journalist, John Gunther, in his widely read book "Inside Asia", described Jinnah as one of the key leaders of the subcontinent.¹⁶ And as stated by the former ambassador to Pakistan, Dennis Kux, "After all Pakistan was the creation of one clever man, Jinnah: the difference between a slick political trick and a mass movement was apparent in the contrast between Karachi and New Delhi."¹⁷

It is also an historic fact that the last British Envoy to India, Lord Mountbatten wanted to become joint governor-general of India and Pakistan. But Jinnah did not buy his idea and decided to occupy the position himself.

1947-1971: From Rising Moon to the fall of Dhaka

Soon after getting independence, Pakistan faced numerous crises. A few included: the management of the huge influx of refugees dribbling in from India; the conduct of safe movement of a large majority of Hindus and Sikh population from Pakistan to India; the unjust and unequal distribution of resources in favour of India by the British rulers; and inexperience in performance of state functions.

Before partition of India, 562 Princely States existed in the subcontinent. They were not part of British India but conquered by Britain. The Indian Independence Act, which granted statehood to both Pakistan and India in 1947, left it to principalities along border areas to decide which of the two new nations to join.¹⁸ With the exception of three states –

Jammu and Kashmir (usually just called Kashmir), Hyderabad and Junagadh – all Princely states acceded to either India or Pakistan.¹⁹ Hyderabad and Junagadh had Hindu majority with Muslim rulers who wanted to join Pakistan. But, they were forcefully incorporated by India in their domain. The case of Jammu and Kashmir was just opposite as the state had majority Muslim population but ruled by Hindu Raja. Albeit, the Muslim majority of Jammu and Kashmir wanted to join Pakistan, but the state could not be absorbed into Pakistan due to Indian conspiracy with Maharaja Hari Singh. Consequently, there was no peaceful resolution of its status, which has remained a source of armed conflict and tension between India and Pakistan to this day.²⁰

The death of father of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah on September 11, 1948 – just a year after independence – was another blow, creating crisis one after another to the newly emerged nation. It was followed by assassination of the first premier Khan Liaquat Ali Khan, knocking viciously to the democratic process of the country.

After the departures of Quaid-e-Azam and Liaquat Ali from the political arena of Pakistan, the democratic institution suffered massive demolition before showing any signs of blossom. Hitherto, the process of democracy – derailed with the killing of the country's first democratically elected premier – could not be reinstated in its true sense.

Political Scenario: 1947-1971

The roots of democratic process – planted in 1947 in both India and Pakistan – had shown progress in opposing direction. Starting from August 15, 1947, India remained under one Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru of Indian National Congress. He was followed by Gulzarilal Nanda – for a brief period of fourteen days as caretaker – until the election of Lal Bahadur Shastri of Indian National Congress on June 9, 1964. Later, Shastri's death during Indo-Pak Tashkent Summit on January 11, 1966²¹ paved the way for election of Ms Indra Gandhi as next prime minister of India. Practically,

India has seen only three premiers from 1947 to 1971 and more importantly all elected and replaced democratically except for Shastri's sudden death. These all indicate nothing but political stability, development and strengthening of democratic norms, and persistence of government policies – resulting into cohesiveness in state's institutions and better decision making during critical moments.

The situation in Pakistan was just opposite. Between 1947 and 1971, Pakistan had tried seven Premiers (except Liaquat Ali Khan all appointed and removed non-democratically), four Governor Generals and three Presidents as heads of the states and governments. The Indian Premier Nehru had also been quoted of passing these shameful remarks about Pakistan's democratic quagmire, "I do not change my Dhoti (loincloth) as frequently as Pakistan changes its Prime Ministers."²² Moreover, after the assassination of Khan Liaquat Ali Khan, a continuous brawling tussle started between two offices – president and prime minister – for grab of power. Despite being the parliamentary form of government, the centre of gravity of political powers and decision making remained with Governor Generals instead of Prime Ministers. The noxious precedence of packing up of democratically elected governments in Pakistan was also set by Governor General Malik Ghulam Muhammad when he dismissed Khwaja Nazimudin on April 17, 1953, and later followed by many successive heads of the state as their national and moral obligation, becoming the major cause of the country's continuous political instability.

Till 1957, democracy prevailed in Pakistan – though insignificantly without delivering its dividends to general masses – but its roots were slashed on October 17, 1958 when President Iskandar Mirza abrogated Constitution and imposed 1st Martial Law. He was later forced to exile handing over his powers to General Ayub Khan. During 1965 war, the military dictator Ayub Khan was all in all who, lacking political acumen, made several irrational decisions before, during and after the war. In March 1969, Ayub Khan resigned under pressure on signing the Tashkent Agreement against the

national interests, handing over the powers to another military dictator, General Yahya Khan.

It may also be worth noting that Pakistan conducted its first general elections in 1970 i.e. almost quarter of a century after its independence. In contrast, India conducted five elections for its Lok Sabha up to 1971.

Security Perspective (1947-1971)

From 1947 to 1971, Pakistan experienced much turbulence in issues related to its security. Many of its decisions proved to be illogical not passing the litmus test of rationality under Max Weber's instrumental rationality model ("cost-benefit" calculations), asking leaders to make choice between alternatives and conflicting ends.²³ The hindsight realistic evaluation of Pakistan's initial decisions which proved critical in shaping the future political, economic and security dynamics of the country, require due consideration under Max Weber philosophy of decision making.

The first critical decision which the political leadership made was joining of the U.S. power block ignoring the next-door former Soviet Union. One can make a number of arguments in favour or against the decision of then-Pakistani elite but in retrospect one can draw a conclusion that the Pakistan's decision making authorities at the time of its creation did not carry out correct "cost-benefit" analysis and, hence, their decision of preferring the U.S. block cannot be termed as a rational choice. One will not be incorrect in saying that Pakistan had no independent policy towards Russia till end of the Cold War. Pakistan had always seen the U.S.S.R. through the prism of the U.S. or its relations with India.²⁴

The U.S., as a matter of fact, has always used Pakistan as its proxy in defending its interests against Kremlin Empire. In 1962, the Soviets captured a spy of the U.S. plane on its territory. The pilot revealed that the plane had taken off from the Badaber Airbase, Peshawar in Pakistan. It is related that

the furious Soviet leader, Khrushchev, encircled Peshawar red on the map. The Pak-Soviet relations had deteriorated to its worst.²⁵ Pakistan, in fact, following the Western especially the U.S. plea,²⁵ had always considered the communist U.S.S.R as an “Evil Empire” – a title given to Soviet Union by President Reagan²⁶ – whereas on the other hand, communist China has been historically best friend of Pakistan. The most significant argument for the same is that Pakistan has always viewed China through its own lens and been quite successful in maintaining a balance in its relations with China and rest of the world. By following the same policy, Pakistan could have also laid the foundation for its relations with former Soviet Union.

The second crucial decision made by Pakistan leadership, in the initial phase of its history, is related to joining of Western security system – South East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) in 1954 and the Baghdad Camp later named as Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) in 1959.²⁷ The rationality factor was again found missing when Pakistan’s elite made such strategic decisions. Pakistan, though, took the decision keeping in view its security concerns with India but it never served the country’s best interests as during 1965 and 1971 Indo-Pak wars, no Western assistance was received to safeguard Pakistan’s vital concerns. More adversely, on joining the SEATO and CENTO Pakistan became frontline state against war on communism.

Between 1947 and 1971, Pakistan fought three major wars with India. The first show down between the two countries was in 1947-48 over the unfinished partition agenda of Kashmir. The war did not settle their claim over Kashmir but resulted in its splitting up into Pakistani-administered, called Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK), and Indian-administered section referred as Indian Occupied Kashmir (IOK). Moreover, the issue also reckoned international recognition when India unwittingly sought UN mediation in 1948. Although, India principally agreed to the original UN formula – called for a plebiscite to grant the Kashmiri people their right of self-determination – but over the time it diluted that

commitment and tried to make Kashmir's accession to India permanent.²⁸ Ever since, the Kashmir issue has been on the UN agenda awaiting implementation. In 1965, both the nations fought another bloody war, again on the issue of Kashmir. The war yet again did not stimulate settlement of the dispute. Subsequently, New Delhi and Islamabad reaffirmed their commitment to the status quo under the 1966 Tashkent Agreement.²⁹

In 1971, Pakistan and India fought the third war of their short history. The root-cause and the theatre of the war this time was different – East Pakistan. The result of the war was drastic from Pakistan's perspective as its Eastern Wing was dissected as independent state of Bangladesh. The 1971 episode also relegated the Kashmir dispute to bilateral level as both India and Pakistan, under the 1972 Simla Agreement, agreed to resolve the dispute bilaterally through peaceful means.³⁰

Economic Performance (1947-1971)

During its early history, Pakistan had bare resources to start its economic history. The unjust and undecided distribution of assets by the departing British masters made the situation for Pakistan even worse. Although Muslim League and Congress had negotiated the division of assets – weapons, military equipment, railroad cars, bank deposits, typewriters, and even paper – before partition, but deliveries remained problem. For example, none of the weapon production machinery ever left India.³¹

Pakistan also had no significant raw material or export other than jute (used for carpet backing and sacks).³² The jute industry had flourished during the World War II but later faced crises and was eventually overtaken by other commodities. Nonetheless, a very few jute unit prevailed in East Pakistan as the major base was situated in Calcutta.

In this regard the government's economic policy parameters and its effort to building of the state's economic

institutions also did not match the requisite standards. The country's destabilized democratic institutions and brawling struggle between the state's political establishments for grabbing power – especially the offices of presidents and prime ministers – never let the economic institution to show signs of development and the general masses to reap its dividends. Most of the discussions on economic developments and discrepancies of 1950s and 1960s has centred on the dichotomous roles of the state versus the market. In the words of former Governor State Bank of Pakistan, Dr Ishrat Hussain: “In contrast to the (global) model of shared growth, there is an equally powerful model of elitist growth which characterizes a number of developing countries, . . . and Pakistan . . . Under this model, there is a complete reversal of the traditional role of the market and the state.” He further says: “under an elitist model, where both economic and political powers are held by a small coterie of elites, the market is rigged and the state is hijacked in order to deliver most of the benefits of economic growth to this small group.”³³ That's what exactly happened to Pakistan's economy during 1950s and 1960s.

Pakistan economy, however, demonstrated strong progress in macroeconomic indicators. Dr Ishrat Hussain during a lecture in the Institute of Cost and Management Accountants at Karachi on August 18, 2009, said that a country's economic outcomes depend upon a host of factors like: (a) Initial resource endowment; (b) External environment; (c) Strategy and policy framework; (d) Administration capacity; and (e) Political stability.³⁴

Pakistan inherited weak economic resources and the external environment during 1960s were mixed. However, the relatively stable government, under Ayub Khan, demonstrated better strategy and administration.

From 1961 to 1964, the GNP increased from 8.9 percent to 12.6 percent. The tax ratio to GDP recorded as 6.1 percent in 1959-60 was witnessed at 7.6 percent in 1969-70. The nascent financial sector was built through creation of new institutions

and the number of bank branches increased from 29,000 in 1960 to 1,76,000 in 1970. Apart from emergence of private bank – like Habib, Muslim Commercial and United Banks – Agricultural Development Bank of Pakistan (ADBP) and National Investment Trust (NIT) were set up in public sector in 1961 and 1962 respectively.³⁵

1972-2001: From Fall of Dhaka to fall of the Twin Towers

The next three decades of Pakistan history (1972-2001) have witnessed many ups and downs in political, national security and economic canvas of the country.

Political Scenario: 1972-2001

The performance of the country's democratic institutions continued to be disappointing as the period failed to evolve a stable and just political system. During the period the country remained twice under military rule for about twenty years: first, from 1977 to 1988 when General Zial-ul-Haq dismissed the people's most popular leader Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and finally executing him through court in an engineered murder case; and second, from 1999 to 2008 when General Pervez Musharraf ousted Nawaz Sharif's two-third majority government and later despatched him into exile to Saudi Arabia. Apart from that, general elections were held for six occasions – 1977, 1985, 1988, 1990, 1993 and 1997 – as a result of which seven premiers took the oath as heads of the government: Bhutto in 1973 and 1977; Muhammad Khan Janejo in 1985; Benazir Bhutto in 1988 and 1993; and, Nawaz Sharif in 1990 and 1997. Regrettably, none could complete his/her legitimate tenure as they all were removed undemocratically.

The period also viewed certain positive developments which helped in building the country's political institution as well enhancing its image in international sphere.

The first such landmark was drafting and adopting of the Constitution in 1973. Since its inception in 1947, Pakistan has had three constitutions adopted in 1956, 1962 and 1973³⁶ – all drawn up in the first quarter of its history. Both the previous constitutions were drafted by non-political actors which lacked the basic character of public opinion through participation of their elected representatives. In 1956, the constitution was adopted by Iskander Mirza who came to power undemocratically. The constituent assembly was dissolved by Malik Ghulam Muhammad (then Governor General) on October 24, 1954. In 1962, the country was under first martial law with General Ayub Khan as military President of the state.

The Constitution of 1973 is the only Pakistani constitution drawn up by an elected body.³⁷ It was a remarkable achievement of the parliamentarians who were elected in Pakistan's first general elections of 1970.

The next recommendable achievement of Pakistan was holding of the Islamic Summit in 1974. The Summit Conference comprising heads of states, foreign ministers, leaders and other high dignitaries of thirty-seven Muslim countries, held in from February 22 to 24, 1974, at Lahore. The event – demonstrating Muslim unity and solidarity in the world – brought Pakistan to limelight in international arena. It was an epoch-making conference with far greater influence on world politics than that of the first summit conference held five years before at Rabat. Above all it was a resurgence of Pakistan in international politics after its bitter results of 1971 War and separation of the Eastern Wing.

Another significant event of the era occurred when Indian Premier Atal Behari Vajpayee took a historic bus trip to Pakistan in February 1999 – becoming the first Indian prime minister in a decade to visit Pakistan.³⁸ The visit carried strategic worth as regard to two historic events which had never been seen or visualized in Indo-Pak scenario. First, the most monumental event of Indo-Pak history occurred on February 21, 1999 when Vajpayee visited Minar-e-Pakistan³⁹ –

the national monument – from where Muhammad Ali Jinnah first announced the League’s proposal for an independent Pakistan.⁴⁰ He was again the first Indian leader paying homage to the monument and, hence, rendering an official recognition to the existence of Pakistan – though after half of a century. Vajpayee also endorsed legendary remarks in the guest book that a strong and prosperous Pakistan was in India’s interests.⁴¹ Second, the same day, both the heads of the states signed another historic document, the famous “Lahore Declaration”, in which they shared a vision for peace and stability with three major commitments: (1) identify efforts to resolve all issues, including Kashmir; (2) identify a composite and integrated dialogue process; and (3) take immediate steps for reducing the risks of unauthorized use of nuclear weapons.⁴² The whole process, however, proved to be a futile effort, as in June-July the same year, the armies of both the nations entangled in Kargil sector.

The relations between the two nations remained in doldrums for two years following the Kargil conflict. However, both the nations got another opportunity to reconstruct their broken peace process when President Pervez Musharraf of Pakistan had arrived in New Delhi on July 15, 2001 accepting the Vajpayee’s invitation. During the visit, Musharraf also became the first Pakistani leader to lay wreath at the Memorial to Mahatma Gandhi along the banks of Jumna River.⁴³ The outcome of the visit was also disappointing and the Agra summit (July 2001) also proved a failure as India and Pakistan were locked into a “zero sum game.”⁴⁴ Delhi’s interests revolved around resuming the Lahore summit dialogue, and in obtaining Islamabad’s agreement to phase out its support for the Kashmir insurgency, whereas, Pakistan focused on the importance of tackling the Kashmir issue. Ultimately, the planned Agra Declaration could not materialise despite completing all preparations and formalities of the joint press conference. A lack of sufficient preparations certainly leads to an unsuccessful outcome. The inadequate pre-summit deliberations in 2001 were a significant factor in the ultimate failure of the Agra summit.⁴⁵

Security Perspective (1972-2001)

The era bracketed between 1972 and 2001 witnessed a number of events at national, interstate (more specifically between India and Pakistan), and international level which have ever lasting imprints in shaping and reshaping Pakistan's security dynamics. Four such strategic events are worth debating: (1) Indo-Pakistan nuclear tests series of 1974 and 1998; (2) Pakistan's role in Afghanistan War of 1979-1989; (3) the Kargil War-1999; and (4) the 9/11.

Discussing first, the process of nuclearization of South Asia: Pakistan's defeat in 1971 War and dismemberment of its Eastern Wing had already created serious security concerns for the policymakers of the country. Furthermore, Pakistan's asymmetry with India traditional military capability and India's active support to Bengali separatist elements – Mukti Bahini – during 1971 war, had strengthened its hostility toward India, viewing it as a major source of threat to its territorial integrity. Pakistan's security hypothesis was reinforced when India conducted its first nuclear tests at Pokhran on May 18, 1974. The test not only affected the security dynamics of Pakistan but whole of the South Asian region.

The new scenario emerged after Indian nuclear tests had serious military implications for Pakistan. Hence, the growing fear of a strong and hostile neighbour created a very strong incentive for the weaker Pakistan to develop a nuclear weapon capability.⁴⁶ The Indian leadership triggered an unending arm race – including struggle for acquiring nuclear weapon – between the two core actors of South Asia.

The idea of nuclear Pakistan was coined by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who strongly believed that the traditional military and non-traditional nuclear disparity with India can only be counterbalanced with acquisition of nuclear capability. While being in Ayub Khan's cabinet as Foreign Minister, Bhutto responded aggressively to India's nuclear ambitions and paraphrased his famous statement of January 1965 that if

India developed nuclear weapons, "Pakistan will eat grass or leaves, even go hungry, in order to develop a bomb of its own."⁴⁷

In 1976, Pakistan had struck a deal with France for acquiring a nuclear processing plant but the agreement could not materialize due to heavy American pressure over France. However, by the time France backed out in 1978, Pakistan had already embarked on a clandestine effort to develop a nuclear enrich facility.⁴⁸ Later, Pakistan took full advantage of being the U.S. frontline ally during Afghan War (1979-89) as the Washington ignored Islamabad's efforts of attaining the high rich uranium. Experts believe that Pakistan's installations were fully operational and started producing high rich uranium in 1982 and conducted its cold test in 1983-84.⁴⁹ By 1985, Pakistan was capable of hard testing a nuclear device.⁵⁰

The second nuclear showdown between India and Pakistan happened in May 1998. The initiator was again India when, after a hiatus of almost twenty-four years, it once again startled the world by resuming the nuclear testing at a time when the international community had solemnly expressed a desire, through the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), to refrain from the field testing of nuclear explosive.⁵¹ On May 11, 1998, India conducted three nuclear tests which were followed by two more detonations on May 13, 1998, that purportedly "completed the planned series of underground tests."⁵²

Not surprisingly, Pakistan answered with the matching response. Ignoring all international pressures, Pakistan availed the life-time opportunity of testing five of its nuclear devices on May 28, 1998 and two more on May 30, 1998 – suggesting that Pakistan's total of seven tests against India's history of six signalling Islamabad's own political confidence and perhaps even its technological superiority.⁵³

The second strategic event is related to Pakistan role in Afghan War. The era from 1972-2001 was significant in relations to Pakistan's role in international security campaigns

in South Asia – i.e. Afghan War and the War on Terror where Pakistan became front-line ally of the West, the U.S. in particular – and its military showdown with India over Kargil, during which Pakistan found itself isolated in international community.

In December 1979, the former Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. This ignited a long and bloody Afghanistan War (1979-1989) which culminated on the humiliating defeat of Soviet forces, paving the way for disintegration of the world's largest communist empire. Pakistan being situated next to Afghanistan border was not in a position to remain isolated from the war and its effects. Fearing immediate threat to its security, Pakistan decided to join the international coalition against the Soviet occupation. Its strategic importance was further enhanced by the fact that the state of Pakistan was at the cross-roads of superpower politics and by its strategic location as gateway to Southwest Asia and the Persian Gulf region.⁵⁴ The threat and security scenario emerged after the Kremlin incursion made Pakistan as “centre of gravity” of the world and eventually the “frontline state” in international war against Soviet Union.

Though, the world coalition force led by the United States of America, emerged victorious in the ten-year long war against the Soviet Union but the war had left everlasting effects on Pakistani society. Pakistan hosted the largest population of refugees in the world, Forced out of Afghanistan by the decade-long Soviet occupation, their number reached 3,253,873 (about 3.2 million) by the time the invaders withdraw in 1988.⁵⁵

The impact of Afghan crisis on Pakistan was not restricted to the huge influx of refugees only. The aftermath of the war gave birth to many complex issues – including economic, social, political, strategic and foreign policy with overlapping and inadvertent linkage – as the cost of war being paid by the Pakistani nation ever since Soviet defeat in Afghanistan.

In the word of Dr Pervez Iqbal Cheema: “Not only the proverbial patience of the Pakistanis has already been stretched to its maximum limits, the implications are now adversely impinging on our precarious harmony.”⁵⁶

The third event shaping Pakistan’s security dynamics is concerning the Kargil War-1999. After the visit of Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee to Pakistan and the conclusion of “Lahore Declaration” in February 1999, the masses on both sides of the border had started dreaming for the perpetual peace, prosperity and stability. Their wishful thinking, however, could not last long as the Armies of both the countries got entangled in Kargil War in May-June 1999. The engagement of nuclear rivals in a conflict – especially where no one is ready to concede – increases the risk factor of employing nuclear arsenal by either side. Some international observers, analysts and agencies have also reported that both the sides were prepared – in relation to the use of strategic weapons – to bid up the nuclear risk. Bruce Reidel, an American official and Indian journalist Raj Chengappa had strong belief on the preparation and activation of nuclear weapons and their delivery means by both India and Pakistan.⁵⁷ The international community, keeping in consideration the vast destruction during the war, intervened quickly and the conflict was resolved before it changed its dynamics.

The Kargil War yielded no fruitful results for Pakistan. One of the major reasons of going for Kargil – self-set strategic goal by Pervez Musharraf – was to internationalize the Kashmir issue. It, however, did not serve much for the achievement of the cause. Pakistani forces were able to capture a large chunk of land on Indian side of the Line of Control (LoC), but were not in a position to either justify their action or sustain it for a longer period of time due to immense international pressure. The strategically ill-planned and ill-timed Kargil operation isolated Pakistan in the international community.

The next significant event of the period contributing to the prevailing grim security scenario of the country is related to terrorists' attacks of September 11, 2001. In year 2001, Pakistan was at the ebb of the U.S. priority and cut off internationally due to Kargil episode and turnover of the democratic government of Nawaz Sharif by military dictator General Pervez Musharraf. Under such an environment, the most dramatic event of the human history occurred in the form of terrorists' attacks in the U.S. on September 11, 2001. There was no country in the world which had not suffered – directly or indirectly – due to the fall of twin towers in New York but its impacts on Pakistan have proved to be much pronounced and far lasting. The event once again brought Pakistan to the world central stage as the U.S. frontline partner in the brutal War on Terror (WOT) but at the same time it also changed the complete social fibre of Pakistani society.

Economic Performance (1972-2001)

The academic figures of the country's economic achievements in three decades (from 1972 to 2001) had been quite commendable though not contributing to the long-term sustained economy. Commenting on indicators of economy Dr Ishrat Hussain states that: Pakistan was among few countries to achieve growth rate of 5 percent in 1989 in just four decades of its inception; in 1980s poverty decreased from 40 to 18 percent; GDP raised from \$10.8 billion in 1970 to \$72.3 billion in 2001; GDP growth rate recorded at 5.3 percent in 2003 as compared to that at 4.2 percent in 1999; inflation also decreased from 5.7 percent in 1999 to 3.3 percent in 2003; there was, however, negative trend in unemployment which raised from 6 percent to 8 percent from 1999 to 2003.⁵⁸

Experts believe that the achievements of Pakistan economy mainly pertained to the period of military rule when the country was frontline partner of the West during the Afghan War (1979-1989). A considerable amount of foreign aid became the major source of earnings and sustenance of Pakistan economy. As per the report of Government of

Pakistan, Planning Commission: Pakistan's economic growth is the story of boom-bust cycles. Foreign injections have on occasion led to sharp upward spikes. However, because the resources were not channelled into high-impact investment, the GDP growth has not been sustained beyond periods of external inflow.⁵⁹

Post-9/11 Period: 2001 to date

The present era of Pakistan history has totally reshaped the country's political, economic and security dimensions. With the fall of the twin towers in New York on September 11, 2001, the domestic structure of Pakistan's vital institutions has also got seriously damaged – though not completely collapsed.

Political Scenario (2001 to date)

The political history of the country since fall of the twin towers has witnessed several positive as well negative developments. The era started with the military rule of General Pervez Musharraf whose rule was not well accepted by the international community. Pakistan felt isolated in the global arena with its membership suspended by Commonwealth. Under disappointing domestic political scene and unpopular international situation, suddenly the dreadful events of terrorists' attacks occurred in New York on September 11, 2001.

The dramatic episode of the 9/11 brought Pakistan back to the world focus, especially the U.S. Before September 11, White House always condemned the military coup in Pakistan and demanded for speedy return of democracy. Their stance, however, changed altogether with the collapse of World Trade Centre (WTC) in New York. With Islamabad pivotal once again to the success of a war in Afghanistan, the Bush administration was loath to undermine Musharraf's authority.⁶⁰

The period from 2001 onward has also shown a variety of developments on national political theatre which has long-lasting impacts on the country's dynamics. During this period, the force-exiled political leadership of two most leading parties returned home: Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto demonstrated an historic arrival in Karachi on October 18, 2007; and Mian Nawaz Sharif followed her joining the domestic political campaign on November 25, the same year.

Mohtarma's rally was attacked by two suicide bombers to kill her. Bhutto escaped unhurt but there were 136 casualties and at least 250 people were injured.⁶¹ Later, on December 27, the same year after addressing a spirited political campaign rally at Rawalpindi, when she stood up to wave to the crowds through the sunroof of her bulletproof vehicle, she was assassinated⁶² – the worst tragedy of country's political history after her father Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's death sentence three decades before.

Since 2001 the people of Pakistan exercised their right of vote in the country's three general elections held in 2002, 2008 and 2013. One common trend seen in all three elections was that the verdict went against the ruling parties. In 2002 elections Pakistan Muslim League (Quaid-e-Azam) – called PML (Q) emerged as the largest party and formed the government; however, in 2008 it simply washed-out from Pakistan's power scene – probably once for all – leaving platform for Pakistan People Party (PPP) to form the government; and in the recent elections-2013, PPP lost with a huge margin against Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz), called PML (N). Another encouraging factor in the 2013 elections was the emergence of new political force – Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaff (PTI) – under the leadership of Imran Khan.

Security Perspective (2001 to date)

From security point of view, the present era – started with the episode of the 9/11 – is the worst in Pakistan history. After the September 11 attacks, Pakistan decided to join the global war on terror under the leadership of the U.S. and provided

logistic support, intelligence sharing and air bases to the U.S. and for NATO operations against al Qaeda and the Taliban.⁶³ However, with the passage of time the partnership between the two grew even stronger. In June 2004, the United States made this relationship more formal when it designated Pakistan as a “Major Non-NATO Ally.”⁶⁴ Among other benefits the designation permitted Pakistan to purchase and receive otherwise restricted U.S. military equipment. Nonetheless, the spill over of Afghan War inside Pakistan was not visualized by the Pakistani decision makers, as no appropriate security measures were taken to guard such eventualities.

Consequently, as the war progressed its imprints in Pakistan domestic security dynamics proved even severe. Furthermore, the state’s leadership also failed to take rational decision – based on correct cost-benefit analysis – at the right time. Committing Pakistan Army in Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA) and Lal Mosque operations – without contingency planning – has proved extremely negative to Pakistan’s national interests. Pakistan Army, however, conducted Swat Operation in 2009 in a classic fashion. Before conducting the operation a complete strategic narrative was chalked down and followed with the progress of the battle. After creating a favourable public opinion, over three million people were internally displaced before the operation. Moreover, the operation was conducted with 12000 to 14000 troops with close support of attack helicopters and artillery. Some 4000 militants were killed in the operation.⁶⁵

The performance of Pakistan Army during the operation was acknowledged by analysts at home and abroad. The U.S. Army General Petraeus while taking to National Public Radio said in December 2009: “They have done quite impressive operation in Swat Valley.”⁶⁶

The cost of the ongoing WOT has, nonetheless, proved extremely heavy to Pakistan both in human suffering and economic expressions. In terms of human sacrifices, Pakistan lost over five thousand professional soldiers and about forty-five thousand civilians;⁶⁷ whereas the economic losses have

touched \$67 billion since 2001.⁶⁸ The war is still not over though the U.S. has already made the strategic announcement of withdrawing its forces from Afghanistan in 2014. The internal security situation of Pakistan is getting even worse due to lack of consensus among all forces responsible to maintain law and order.

There also occurred three important events – all in 2011 – related directly with Pakistan's security viz-a-viz bilateral relations between Pakistan and the U.S. The first in the series was the Raymond Davis issue. Raymond Davis – suspiciously an American secret agent in Pakistan on a cover appointment as an official in the U.S. Consulate in Lahore – killed two Pakistani citizens on January 26, 2011. Davis's arrest, his indictment for murder and the U.S. claim of his diplomatic immunity severely tested the relations between the two states. After nearly two months, the saga came to an abrupt end when Davis was released and quickly flown out of Pakistan after payment of blood money (*Diyat*) to the heirs of the two youth he had killed.⁶⁹

The second episode which followed the Davis's case was the U.S. SEAL operation deep inside Pakistan territorial borders – Abbottabad – killing Osama Bin Laden on May 2, 2011. The violation of Pakistan's air space and conducting such an operation inside Pakistan territorial jurisdiction – an act of total defiance of international customs – had not only deterred Pakistan's sovereignty but at the same time raised several questions on the future of Pak-US bilateral relationship which to certain analysts is already termed as, "the geostrategic equivalent of a bad marriage."⁷⁰

The last bitter episode of the series occurred on November 26, 2011 when the US-led NATO helicopters attacked Salala Check-post – a Pakistani military check-post on Pakistan-Afghanistan border – killing 24 Pakistani soldiers. Pakistan strongly condemning the attack, closed the NATO supply route to Afghanistan. The relations between the two remained at worst for several months till the U.S. rendered official apology for the attack.

Economic Performance (2001 to date)

The economy of the country since the event of September 11, 2001 has seen two extreme ends – unfortunately the worst part came later. Before the 9/11, Pakistan's economic situation was quite precarious due to: (1) the U.S. sanctions in wake of conducting nuclear tests in 1998; and (2) internationally political isolation due to Kargil war and Musharraf's military coup d'état in 1999. Under such wobbly political and economic situation, the 9/11 brought Pakistan to the centre of world focus as a front-line ally of the U.S. led NATO forces. In the initial two years i.e. 2001 to 2002, the economy grew at about 3.6 percent.⁷¹ Later, Pakistan received a lot of military and economic aid from the West which helped in reviving the economic activities. Moreover, a large number of Pakistani abroad made investment in Pakistan especially in real-estate resulting in escalation of property prices to unimaginable limits.

In June 2003, President Bush and President Musharraf met at Camp David where President Musharraf was ensured to be provided a five-year, \$3 billion aid package for Pakistan.⁷² On participating in the WOT Pakistan became the largest receiver of foreigner assistance in the region after Afghanistan.⁷³

Despite all international financial and political assistance Pakistan, however, could not lay down foundation for a solid and sustainable economy. Apart from the country's security situation the short-sightedness of the country's leadership never allowed them to take long-term decisions by bringing down the institutional economic reforms. The Musharraf's era can be rated as best from economic point of view in which the country witnessed peak economic indicators. His last year in the office proved to be the beginning of decline of the economy.

The economic growth rate – 3.6 percent in 2001-2002 – was recorded at 7.6 percent in 2004 as highest in South Asia. It further escalated to 7.7 percent in 2005 before it declined as

low as 1.6 percent in 2008. The same in 2012 was noted at 4.2 percent.⁷⁴

Pakistan trade has, however, shown a constant upward trend in the above period. The exports grew from \$17.01 billion in 2006/07 to \$24.74 billion in 2012/13; whereas imports were recorded from \$30.54 billion to \$39.80 billion in 2006 and 2013 respectively.⁷⁵ The highest Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) inflow was seen in 2007/08 at \$5.15 billion which has reduced to \$2.65 billion in 2012/13. Similarly the country's inflation rate was in limits of 7.8 percent, but it has now gone up to almost 13 percent⁷⁶

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PAKISTAN'S POTENTIALS

One simple argument about ill performance of an actor or player is related to its mismatching capabilities with demanding structural demands. It is also a fact that certain players despite possessing numerous talent still fail to produce desired results. Before diagnosing the causes of failures, all good physicians do explore the capabilities of their cases.

A state's potentials to rise politically as a key player in international arena, can be judged through various factors including quality of its leadership, strong and resilience of its characters especially during hard time, institutional culture, geography and relevance to international community.

Economist and political scientist round the globe determine the potentials of a nation through its productive resources. The productive resources are often classified in three categories:¹ (1) natural resources – coal, water, trees and land – used in production of raw material; (2) human resources – the work force – describes the human work effort; and (3) capital resources – the man made physical resources (building, tools, machines and equipment) – used in production.

Most of the economists divide productive into two types i.e. human and nonhuman, further classifying the nonhuman resources into physical capital, land and natural resources. Human resources consist of skill and knowledge of workers.² Whether a state's dynamics would promote peace in all three levels of analysis – domestic, regional and international – or not, depends not only on its military muscles but other societal aspects.

The stocktaking of the resources endowed to Pakistan is imperative before assessing its potentials to rise as proud and prosperous nation on the world canvas.

Political Indicators

Political Culture cum Structure

Pakistan possesses strong political culture and reasonably stable political system. Although, it falls in the category of hybrid democracy – 3rd out of four democratic shades identified by the UN – but the encouraging thing is that after the spell of every military regime, the country has always returned to democracy. There are 321 political parties enlisted with Election Commission of Pakistan.³ These are organized on the basis of the national identity. Despite having different agenda for running the governmental affairs, there is unanimity on various national core interests which include Pakistan's nuclear programme, Kashmir issue and democratic political structure.

It's the first signal generated by a state to show its intent towards global rise.

Leadership

The most relevant of Robinson's hypotheses on nations' success both in its domestic and international sphere, is the ignorance theory which is related to the quality of leadership a state possess at critical juncture of its history. It is the leadership which serves as a light at the end of the tunnel when its nation is suffering in darkness. The capacity of a nation-state to achieve its objectives vis-a-vis another includes the soundness of its cause and persuasive skills of its leaders.⁴

There is no doubt that Pakistan's emergence as an independent country on the globe could become reality due to clear-cut superiority of Quaid's leadership traits over his contemporary rivals in British India. The other Muslim leaders who assisted Quaid during Pakistan movement deserve equal applauses. The country has, however, not seen any other leader of the same acumen.

It does not mean that the country's political culture is incapable of producing men-in-crisis. In individual capacity we

find many tall names in almost all walks of life who distinctly established their credibility in international community. Khan Liaquat Ali Khan is the one who played significant role in meeting early crisis the country faced on its inception. Similarly, it was Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who gave new constitution to the country in 1973, which was endorsed by all political party, and initiated Pakistan's nuclear programme. He is the one who gathered all Muslim leaders on one platform by organising Islamic Summit in Lahore in 1974.

There are, however, a number of factors due to which the country's political leadership could not play its due role. Detailed analysis of the political leadership have been discussed in Chapter-6.

National Character

Japan suffered the ever largest catastrophe of human kind when it was subjected to nuclear attack in 1945. No one could imagine that Japanese would rise to the zenith of their glory. Similarly, Germans were defeated in both the World Wars and had almost lost their significance in the globe. Today, Germany is again an honourable and important member of the international community. It was the national character of both the nations which never let them surrender to the bad patches of their history and made them again politically and economically great nations.

Pakistani nation is also possesses resilience character and never bows to challenging situations. It was a general perception in 1947 that the country would not survive with the meagre resources it inherited from its colonial master and due to the ever looming Indian threat on its Eastern border. It proved the other way. In 1971, the Eastern wing got dismembered and again questions were raised on the survival of the country. It again proved its worth to the test of the time. Adverse effects of three major wars and numerous border conflicts with India, ex-Soviet Union adventure in Afghanistan and the ongoing War on Terror should have been enough to jolt the national morale. But it never happened so. Rather all these

events eventually contributed towards strengthening its position.

Due to the strong character of Pakistani nation, there should not be any doubt in the mind of any analyst that the country would one day become a key player in the global politics.

Relevance to International Community

According to the Neo-classical Realism, apart from state's elite perceptions and calculations on international structure, its foreign policy behaviour is dependent on overall power distribution in international system, means as to how other states perceive a particular state's character. To neoclassical realists states do not just respond to aggregate shifts in power alone, but also to shifts in power differentials and specific components of a foreign state's power.⁵ It helps in deciding the relative position of a state in the world system.

In the prevailing world order, Pakistan holds quite a significant position. Historically it has remained focus of attention of the regional and global powers in meeting their regional and international objectives. In fight against communism and terrorism, Pakistan has been front line ally of the US. Pakistan had and has never been irrelevant to the former Soviet Union and Russian respectively. China has been historically Pakistan's best friend. It has never been one sided compulsions, rather mutual interests which made Pakistan relevant to the great powers.

In its relations to the Islamic world, Pakistan, by virtue of its non-sectarian societal character and being the only Islamic nuclear power enjoys a very special status. Islamic community always looks towards Pakistan in resolving their internal dispute as well as countering any external aggression. Pakistan's role in bridging distances between Tehran and Riyadh received worldwide acknowledgment in 2016.

On regional front South Asian political and security dynamics are directly linked with Pakistan. The country has been playing and would be required to play vital role in bringing peace in Afghanistan.

With so much to contribute towards regional and international stability, Pakistan has always been relevant to the world community. This makes Pakistan's case even strong for rising as proud nation in political arena.

Peculiarity of Geographic Architecture

Pakistan is situated at a vital geostrategic juncture i.e. the heart of South Asia, Southwest Asia, and Central Asia. It is positioned with Iran and Afghanistan to the west, China to the north, and India to the east. Its south-western corner leads to the Persian Gulf and the Strait of Hormuz. Pakistan's geostrategic location connects Central Asian Republics (CARs) with warm water through Afghanistan. Pakistan – in view of being in proximity of hydrocarbon rich Arabian Gulf and CARs – has been bestowed with two most vital export corridors in the world which, if capitalized, can generate enormous economic activities in the country. It is anticipated that oil reserves of Gulf countries may last for next 50-130 years.⁶

Pakistan's geography possesses several unique characteristics due to which its role and importance in the global politics cannot be ignored by the great powers. The importance of Pakistan to international community can be simply gauged from the remarks of the American president, Obama, during his visit to St. Xavier College, Mumbai on November 7, 2010. While replying a question he uttered these historic remarks about Pakistan: "Pakistan is an enormous country. It is a strategically important country not just for the United States but for the world. It is a country whose people have enormous potential, but. . . within it has some of the extremist elements. . . that we consider a cancer within the country that can potentially engulf the country." He further said: "There are more Pakistanis who've been killed by terrorists inside Pakistan than probably anywhere else. . . . And so our feeling has been to be honest and forthright with

Pakistan, to say we are your friend, this is a problem and we will help you, but the problem has to be addressed. . . . the history between India and Pakistan is incredibly complex and was born of much tragedy and much violence. And so it may be surprising to some of you to hear me say this, but I am absolutely convinced that the country that has the biggest stake in Pakistan's success is India. I think that if Pakistan is unstable, that's bad for India. If Pakistan is stable and prosperous, that's good. . . . India and Pakistan can live side by side in peace and that both countries can prosper.”⁷

Some of the features of Pakistan's geostrategic location are discussed below.

Pakistan, being itself a nuclear state, is the only country in the world which has two declared nuclear powers – China and India – in its neighbours; whereas, Iran as third one is about to stand off. This peculiar situation makes Pakistan's geostrategic importance even significant. Peace and stability in Pakistan is directly linked with peace and stability of the region in particular and the world in general.

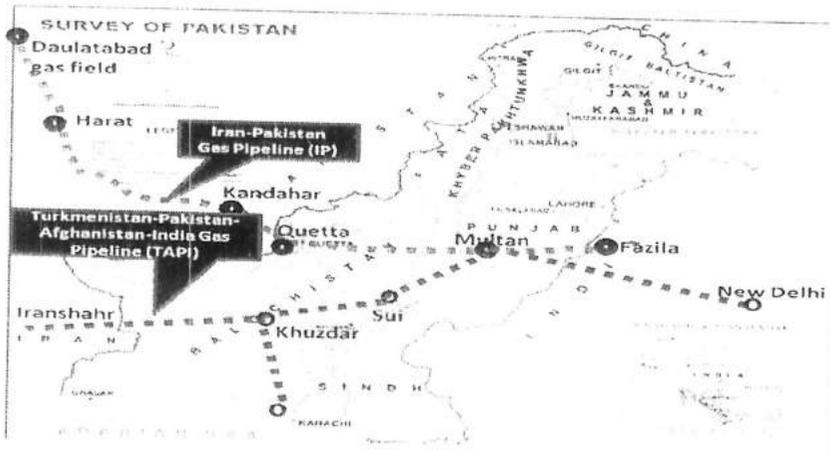
The Indian factor in Pakistan's geography and its domestic dynamics has imperative role. Pakistan's major concern has always been hostile India with its hegemonic designs. The issues between the two range from border disputes to water sharing tribulations, and even the question of identity. The most visible expression of conflict between the two is the lingering dispute over Kashmir due to which the two nations have already been involved in three major wars and numerous border conflicts. The presence of hostile eastern border compels Islamabad administration to allocate a major portion of its budget on defence at the cost of national development. Pakistan was compelled to develop nuclear weapon programme in response to Indian nuclear initiative. India's economic, political and military evolution has a major bearing on Pakistan's development. India's aspirations of becoming a regional power throughout the Indian Ocean and offensive approach against Pakistan – to include sponsoring terrorism and supporting uprisings in Baluchistan – has triggered

defensive reflexes in Pakistan, leading to an arms race, despite Pakistan's weak economic conditions.

Pakistan shares its western border with Afghanistan, the all-times super-powers' rival. The Pak-Afghan border provides an opening to CARs with Pakistani coast for transportation of their black gold to international market. However, Afghanistan has a long-drawn-out history of its rivalry with super powers and domestic continuous disturbances with its direct bearing on Pakistan. In the back drop of Russo-Afghan War (1979-89), Pakistan provided shelter to more than three million Afghan refugees. The end of Afghan war was the bad beginning for Pakistan leading to the desolation of its society. The Afghan war, apart from introducing arms and narcotics, also gave birth to violent culture in Pakistan. The rise of Taliban in Afghanistan altogether gave a new shape to Pakistan's external environment for which it had to pay a very heavy price. After the 9/11, Pakistan was not only bound to take a u-turn from its Afghan policy but also had to withdraw its support from ongoing Kashmir freedom movement. Moreover, as a result of so called WOT, it has since been victim of the worst kind of terrorism. In order to generate a healthy economic activity, the stability of Pakistan western border is essential. Developments in Afghanistan, have cast impressions on Pakistan's foreign policy and economics.

Pakistan, through Afghan border is linked with CARs which possess numerous oil and gas untapped reserves. The estimated oil reserves of Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan alone are 6.3 and 6.1 billion tons ranking them 9th and 10th in the world respectively. Similarly, the gas reserves of both the countries are 15.5 and 5.9 trillion cubic meters with their 3rd and 5th global standing respectively.⁸ The CARs – including five landlocked countries of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan – need a corridor and a transit route to export their energy resources to South Asia. Pakistan is blessed with two energy corridors which can connect the CARs and Iran's oil and gas commodities with rest of the world (Map-5.1)⁹.

Pakistan's Energy Corridor



The first corridor links up Russian and Turkmenistan's oil and gas fields to the international market. It has two alternatives: (One) from Daulatabad gas field in southern Turkmenistan across south-eastern Afghanistan and southwestern Pakistan (Quetta) to northwestern India to New Delhi – commonly known as TAPI (Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India); and (Two) an oil pipeline to connect Russia's Omsk oilfield in Siberia across Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, connecting Turkmenistan's Chardzhou oilfield to Pakistan's coastal city Karachi or Gwader via Baluchistan. Deliberations on feasibility of the projects have already been in progress since mid 1990s.¹⁰ Pakistan needs to capitalize on both the routes.

The second energy corridor – passing through Pakistan – links Iran's oil and gas reserves with Pakistan. It can help Pakistan in meeting its domestic shortfall as well further transportation of it to rest of the world. Iran sits on the second largest gas reserves in the world and has over 93 billion barrels of proven oil reserves with a total of 4.17 million barrels per day in 2009.¹¹ Originally Pakistan, Iran and India had been working jointly on Iran-Pakistan-India Gas Pipeline Project – commonly known as IPI – but later in 2010, India under heavy U.S. pressure abandoned the project. In the 2008, the pipeline plan agreed by the three countries, IPI was proposed to start from Asaluyeh, South Pars, stretching over 1,100 km in Iran

itself before entering Pakistan and travelling through Khuzdar, with one section of it going on to Karachi on the Arabian Sea coast, and the main section travelling on to Multan. From Multan, the pipeline was to travel to Delhi where it would end. IPI was to initially have a capacity to deliver roughly 22 billion cubic meters per year which was to evolve to a maximum of 55 billion cubic meters.¹² The IPI – after backing out of India – is now termed as IP Pipeline Project.

The map 5.1 shows the proposed routes of both TAPI and IPI pipeline projects passing through Pakistan. The significant aspect of the projects is the diversity of routes and multiple options available to Pakistan in supply of hydrocarbon goods of CARs, Russia and Iran to all over the world. Taking example of the first corridor – TAPI – once the pipeline enters Pakistan's geographical limits from Kandahar it can be aligned with four alternatives: (1) from Quetta to Multan to Indian city of Fazilka (as per the original plan); (2) from Quetta to Khuzdar to Karachi port; (3) from Quetta to Khuzdar to Gwader port; and (4) from Quetta to Multan to Rawalpindi/Islamabad to China along Karakorum Highway. The Iran-Pakistan Pipeline also possesses flexibility of adopting multiple approaches such as: (1) from Khuzdar, it leads to Karachi as per the original plan but additionally can also be linked with Gwader port; and (2) from Multan, it can also be connected with China along Karakorum Highway.

The recent developments in Iran related to its nuclear standoff and conclusion of nuclear deal between Iran and the West, also have direct relevance to Pakistan's political and security dynamics. Being Pakistan's neighbour and an important Islamic country, Pakistan-Iran relations have had distinct characteristics over the past six decades. Political and strategic imperatives have formed the basis of the relationship despite competing interests and a divergent political outlook. The evolving situation, with the West and Iran set on a confrontationist course, is likely to have serious implications for the entire region and the world.¹³ Friendly relations with Iran have been key elements of Pakistan's foreign policy. However, there have been few ups and downs in bilateral

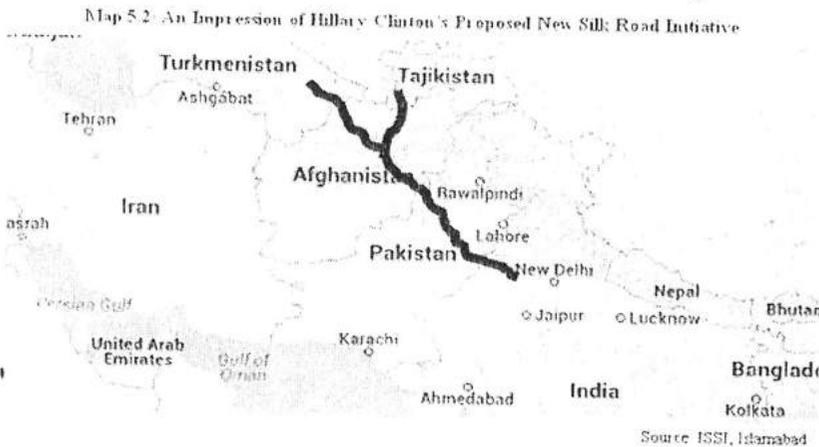
relations in the past. The receptacle of second largest gas reserves in the world, Iran is the country which can meet Pakistan's energy requirements. Iran has proven reserves of about 971.2 trillion cubic feet.¹⁴ Despite the dire American pressure, both the nations have concluded the strategic agreement for the development of Iran-Pakistan (IP) Gas Pipeline. However, due to prevailing situation in Iran, any instability or war in Pakistan's neighbor would have serious negative fallout for Pakistan. If the recently concluding nuclear deal between Iran and P-5+1 does not succeed in longer term, and the U.S. and / or Israel launch military strikes against Iran's nuclear installations, the backlash on the Pakistani domestic scene will be severe, causing political, economic and security complexities. Trade links will be severed under pressure from the U.S. and EU and the IP Gas Pipeline project may be put in jeopardy thus creating further shortage of energy in the country. It may add to the oil crisis in Pakistan, noting 6000 barrels of oil per day are currently being imported from Iran.¹⁵

Pakistan's all-weather friend China has shown inordinate signs of an emerging global power in the contemporary unipolar world. Chinese economic growth, political and military evolution has a major influence on Pakistan's military and economic development. The rise of China and its strategic partnership with Pakistan – particularly Pak-China Economic Corridor and the development of Gwader Port on the mouth of Strait of Hormuz – has raised concern for the U.S. administration in meeting its regional and strategic goals. However, uprising of extremists groups in China's western provinces are sources of concern and a cause of anti-Pakistan sentiments in China. It is, however, a universal truth that both China and Pakistan have convergence of interests on several issues related to their political, economic and security dynamics. Their mutual cooperation in various fields is in the mutual interests of both the nations. The completion of Pak-China Economic Corridor and development of Gwader port would help both the countries to meet their energy needs. Furthermore, through these projects, Pakistan has many more

benefits to give to China in consolidating its economy and playing its role as an emerging global power.

Chinese think-tanks are well aware of Pakistan's geostrategic location and its role in China's economic rise. To understand this phenomenon one needs to understand China's ever-increasing energy demands especially after 1993 when China went from being a net exporter of oil to net importer of oil. From 1980 to 2006 its energy consumption increased by 5.6 percent annually. Today it stands as second largest oil consumer after the U.S. and is set to overtake it within a decade.¹⁶ Over 80 percent of its imported oil is transported in oil tankers – about half of the import from Persian Gulf and Iran passes through the Straits of Hormuz and Malacca to reach the eastern part of China. In the whole process the oil tankers traverse over 10,000 miles distance to reach China. By utilizing Gwader port, extending the proposed TAPI and IP pipelines to China (TAPI to be TAPC and IP/IPI to be IPC), and constructing exclusive Pak-China pipelines the distance could reduce to only 2500 miles.¹⁷

In November 2011, the U.S. Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton wrote an article in the U.S. Foreign Policy journal in which she outlined the contours of American strategic aims and



objectives in Asia, and its commitment to accomplish them. Using the catching phrase of “Asia Pivot”, she claimed that the future of politics will be decided in Asia and the United States

will be right at the centre of the action.¹⁸ This global shift from Atlantic to Pacific makes the region – Asia Pacific, South Asia, Central Asia and South East Asia – a focus of attention of all the great powers. Due to its peculiar geostrategic location and role towards regional and international stability, Pakistan's significance cannot be overruled by any of the great power including the U.S, Russia and China.

Earlier in September 2011, the U.S. also announced “New Silk Road Initiative” – a visionary strategy for Afghanistan's economic development, aimed at making the war-torn country a hub of commerce and economic activities. Robert D. Hormats, the U.S. Under Secretary for Economics, Energy and Agricultural Affairs – while addressing to the SAIS Central Asia-Caucasus Institute and CSIS Forum at Washington DC on September 29, 2011 – spelled out the significance of the project. The New Silk Road Initiative in the post-2014 scenario – when the U.S. led NATO forces will leave Afghanistan – would generate numerous economic activities in Afghanistan in particular and the region in general. The Under Secretary emphasizing on the importance of the project stated that: “the New Silk Road Initiative can provide a critical economic boost for all of Afghanistan's neighbors.”¹⁹

However, just by looking over the route of the proposed plan (Map 5.2)²⁰ one can easily find out that the whole plan is to keep China, Iran and Russia out of the game and never let them to reap its dividends. Some analysts believe that it is a dividing line between the time-tested Pak-China friendship. It is argued that Pakistan is being presented as a victim of an either / or scenario i.e. join the Northern Silk Road project and ditch China, or keep out of the project and prove its strategic loyalty to China.²¹ Pakistani policymakers are required to conduct accurate cost-benefit analysis under the rationality pointer to assess its best role in the new emerging scenario. Just by maintaining a balance in its relations with China and the U.S., Pakistan can strike a better deal in safeguarding its vital national interests apart from reaping the dividends of the all projects planned in / passing through its geographical limits.

Pakistan is the only country which shows inordinate signs of economic progression just on the basis of its geography. The policymakers, however, need to plan well to gain maximum advantage of its geostrategic settings.

Human Resource

The population of a country plays an important role in its economic development as well social wellbeing of the people. The productive population's contribution – called as the work force participation rate – is an important indicator in analysing a country's potentials for development.

As per July 2013 estimates Pakistan, with 190 million population, is the sixth largest populous country in the world.²² The sex ratio, however, which was 1.16 male(s) per female in 1951 has reduced to 1.07 male(s) per female as per the 2011 census.²³

The size and capacity of the productive human resource can best be determined by having an insight into the age composition of a population. Gary Becker – the 1992 Nobel Prize recipient – is best known for his role in development of human capital theory. He argues that the market value of human wealth cannot be determined but it can be estimated indirectly by the rule that the value of an asset is equal to the discounted sum of the income stream yielded. In other words, the value of human wealth “owned” at a particular age would equal the discounted sum of subsequent earnings.²⁴

Assessment of age of a productive work force varies across countries and time. However, leading economists – like Gary – as well political analysts and anthropologists believe that the most productive age groups appear to be the thirties and forties.²⁵ However, almost in all over the world people normally seek employment in early or mid twenties and remain committed to their work effectively till acquiring mid fifties. So, as a guideline the age between 24/25 to 54/55 is considered as the prime working age – most productive – of a population. Approximately 40.6 percent of the world population is between

the age of 25 and 55 years. Pakistan is not much behind this standard as 35 percent of its population falls in the same age group. In comparison, China's population in the same category is 46.7 percent, whereas France with 38.9 percent; Germany (42 percent); India (40.4 percent); Japan (38.3 percent); Russia (45.9 percent); the U.S (40.2 percent); and the U.K at 41.1 percent, are other contemporary international models. The comparison shows that Pakistan's productive work force is not out of proportion in relation to the world standards. If this force is imparted requisite education, professional training and skill development, it can play far better role towards the prosperity of the country. "Pakistan has numerous potentials to emerge as a proud and prosperous nation in the world. Besides possessing economic treasure in the form of hydrocarbon, gold and copper reserves, Pakistan's human resource is its largest asset. The human potentials have, however, been underutilized. There is a need to develop their skills through exercises so that they generate maximum output."²⁶

Another factor of Pakistan's population is related to women participation in nation building. Women form 48.88 percent of the total population of the country.²⁷ Furthermore, out of the total size of the prime working age group (35.1 percent of the total population), the women share is 48.02 percent with the ratio of 1.08 male(s)/female.²⁸ This is by no means below the world standard of 49.5 percent. And if compared with other model states – China: 48.9 percent; France 49.8 percent; Germany: 49.3 percent; India: 48.5 percent; Japan: 50.5 percent; Russia: 51.1 percent; the U.K. 49.1 percent; and the U.S. 49.9 percent – Pakistan no less than any state. This huge work force, if utilized to its optimum strength, can change the economic and social outlook of the country. Apart from providing equal facilities of education in science and technology, initiation of some managerial level of steps – like establishing working women hostel, provision of transport facilities to female employees and establishment of day care centre – can yield strategic results.

As per the available data from various sources over four million of Pakistani citizens have been working abroad for

seeking better economic opportunities. This corresponds to around 2.5 percent of the total population of the country and roughly in line with the global percentage of migrants.²⁹ As per the wall chart of United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs (Population Division), 46.3 percent – i.e. over 1.8 million – of total Pakistan migrants around the globe fall between the age limit of 20 and 64 which is the prime working and mature working age.³⁰ The worst part of the scenario narrates that almost 50 percent of the total Pakistani migrant workers are illiterate and unskilled. Only 2.2 percent of them can be classified as White-Collar Workers like doctors, engineers and teachers; whereas only 40 percent can be termed as skilled workers such as drivers, masons, carpenters and tailors.³¹

The overseas Pakistani have been contributing towards the sustenance of national economy and stemming the tide of poverty in the country in the form of sending remittance home. Their remittance increased more than half times – from \$1.5 billion to \$3.6 billion – in the post-9/11 period. These remittances in the shape of foreign exchange constitute a share of around 3 to 5 percent of the GDP.³²

Just by developing comprehensive understanding of the migration phenomenon and adopting a cooperative approach, the participation of overseas Pakistani workers towards the nation building can be enhanced.

Economic Potentials

As per the data-bank maintained by various world organizations like the United Nations Statistic Division, the World Bank, IMF and CIA (World Factbook) Pakistan possesses numerous natural resources to rise as a great economic actor and an attractive place for international investors.

Pakistan has been endowed with large quantity of natural resources ranging from fertile land to mineral deposits. “Pakistan’s minerals constitute some of the world’s largest

reserves of coal, gold, copper, chrome, gas, rare earth, rock salt, gemstone, marble, onyx, granite, and 42 other minerals. The value output of the natural resources in the country's GDP is 3.1 percent and the mineral industry accounted for 1.6 percent of the labour force.³³

In order to assess Pakistan's potentials as a proud and prosperous nation, it is imperative to carry out the stocktaking of its assets in comparison with 193 member states of the United Nations.

Energy and Natural Resources

In energy sector Pakistan is ranked 29th, 51st and 18th in terms of possessing proven reserves of natural gas, crude oil and coal respectively.

Table 5.1 shows holding of Pakistan proven energy reserves viz-a-viz its relative position in relation to selected economies.

Holding of Proven Reserve of Energy

Stock	Holding	World Share	World Ranking	Comparison with Selected Economies
Natural Gas (cu m)	753,800,000,000	0.36%	29 th	Ahead of France, Germany, Japan and U.K.
Crude oil (bbl/day)	480,900,000	0.03%	51 st	Ahead of France, Germany and Japan.
Coal (metric ton)	2073	-	18 th	Ahead of France, Japan and U.K.

Source: US EIA, EU Energy and CIA Fact Book³⁴

In addition, as per the Government of Pakistan's official figure the country possesses numerous future coal reserves. Coal resources of Thar only estimate to 175 million tons.³⁵ Similarly, as per the U.S. Energy Information Administration Report-2009, the country is known to have moderate oil and gas reserves estimated to be 289 million barrels and 792 cubic meters, respectively.³⁶

Pakistan is also rich in gold and copper deposits. It shares with south-eastern Europe and Iran, one of the best known belts of porphyry copper deposits. The porphyry deposits of Reko Diq at Chaghi in Baluchistan Province were estimated to contain 12.3 Mt of copper and 650 Mt of gold.³⁷ The Reko Diq project would acquire the capacity to produce 600,000 tons of copper concentrate annually by the year 2014; thus, bringing Pakistan for the first time among major copper producing countries on the world map.³⁸ Table 5.2 shows holding of the country's proven reserves of gold and copper.

Holding of Proven Reserve of Gold and Copper

Stock		Holding	World Share	World Ranking
Gold (Tons)	Reserves	64.4	0.20%	43
Copper (million tons)	Reserves	412	-	-

Source: World Gold Council and US Geological Energy³⁹

Besides the country also possesses new high-grade iron core deposits up to 400 million metric tons (Mt) in Baluchistan and North Frontier (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) provinces.⁴⁰ It has been bestowed with high quality of marble – particularly “Ziarat” in KP Province has best quality of marble in the world with great demand in international market.⁴¹ Table 5.3 represents Pakistan's stock production of various metals and mines production in the year of 2011.

Metals and Mines Production – 2011

Stock (Tons)	Production	World Share	Comparison with Selected Economies
Copper	20,000	0.01%	Ahead of, France, Germany, Japan and U.K.
Chromium Ore	4,50,000	1.7%	Ahead of China, France, Germany, Japan, Russia, U.K. and U.S.
Gypsum	885368	0.63%	Ahead of, France, Germany, Japan, Russia, U.K. and U.S.
Iron Core	329100	0.01%	Ahead of France, Japan and U.K.
Lead	2900	0.06%	Ahead of France, Germany, India, Japan and U.K.
Salt (Rock Salt)	1953711	0.69%	Ahead of China, France, India, and Japan.
Zinc	11123	0.09%	Ahead of France, Germany, Japan and U.K.

Source: British Geological Survey⁴²

Agriculture Sector

Pakistan is basically an agricultural country. Agriculture accounts for about 24 percent of GDP and employs about 50 per cent of labour force.⁴³ The country has immense potentials in agriculture sector. Out of 7,96,095 sq km of the total land area of the country, 2,65,500 sq km (33.4 percent) of area constitutes the agricultural land. A pragmatic comparison of the country's economic resources with leading world economies (Table: 5.4 below) shows that its natural resource for agriculture are not less than the international standards and selected world models. The percentage of area of arable land is much higher than most world economies.

Comparison of Selected World Models on Agricultural Potential

	Agricultural Land		Arable Land		
	Area (sq km)	% of Total Area	Area (sq km)	% of Agriculture Land	% of Total Land
China	5 191 482	54	1090211	21	11.6
France	290 900	52.7	182394	62.7	33.6
Germany	167 190	46.8	117200	70.1	33.3
India	1 797 990	54.7	1585827	88.2	48.3
Japan	45 610	12	42417	93	11.4
Pakistan	265500	33.4	209214	78.8	27
Russia	2 152 500	12.7	1214010	56.4	7.1
U.K.	171 640	70.8	59216	34.5	25
U.S	4 112 625	42.7	1706739	41.5	17.7
World	49 322 388	36.2	14 121 800	28.6	10.4

Note: Figures in the table may not tally as the data has been taken from various sources.

Source: UN Statistic Division, World Bank Data Bank and CIA Fact Book⁴⁴

Pakistan is one of the world largest producer and supplier of a number of crops. More than 75 percent value output is based on wheat, sugar-cane, cotton and rice.”⁴⁵ The other major crops, along with Pakistan’s relative standing in the world, are listed in the table 5.5 below.

Stock	Major Crops – 2011			
	Production (Metric Tons)	World Share	World Ranking	Ahead of
Cotton	23,12,000	8.8%	5 th	France, Germany, Japan, Russia & UK
Sugar Can	5,52,08,500	2.1%	6 th	Germany, Japan, Russia, UK & US
Mangos	18,88,449	4.5%	6 th	France, Germany, Japan, Russia, UK & US
Wheat	2,52,13,800	3.6%	8 th	Germany, Japan & UK
Rice	91,94,000	1.3%	11 th	France, Germany, Japan, Russia, UK & US
Maize	42,70,900	0.5%	18 th	France, Germany, Japan, Russia & UK
Potatoes	34,91,800	0.9%	20 th	Japan & UK

Source: UN Food and Agriculture Organisation⁴⁶

In other commodities Pakistan is 3rd in world ranking in production of Pulses and Oilseeds; 5th in Dates; 6th in Apricot; 9th in Onion; 12th in Pistachios and Wool; 13th in Oranges; 17th in Peas; and 18th in production of Almonds and Sunflower seeds.⁴⁷

Similarly, in dairy products Pakistan is 12th largest in milk production and 16th largest in cattle meats.⁴⁸

As regards to irrigation sources, Pakistan has significant water reserves, though not sufficient to the available arable land as most of the water is wasted in the sea. Pakistan is blessed with all types of sources of water – over-surface water resource (rains), surface water resources (rivers and distributaries), and under-surface water sources (tube-wells and “Caraizes” in Baluchistan). The country division on the basis of utilization of water sources includes: (1) northern part of the country – mostly KP province and surrounding – are mainly rain-fed (Barani) areas and dependent upon rains; (2) the central region – mostly Punjab areas – have all the three sources of water; (3) the southern portion – mostly southern Punjab and Sind – are heavily dependent upon ground-water resources called irrigated (Nahri) areas; and (4) the province of Baluchistan uses under-surface linked water channels “Caraizes”. Similarly, the country is divided in three hydro-regions: (1) the Indus Basin covering 70 percent of the country’s area delivers an average of 147 million acre feet water annually; (2) the Kharan Desert having inland drainage system – “Caraizes” – in Western Baluchistan with annual flow of almost 0.28 million acre feet water; and (3) the arid coast along the Arabian Sea in Southern Baluchistan discharging about 1.55 million acre feet per year.⁴⁹

Pakistan’s river system consists of sixty large and small rivers, to mention few are Indus, Jehlum, Chenab, Ravi, Sutlej, Kunhar, Neelum, Gilgit, Hunza, Shigar, Shyok, Kabul, Swat, Chitral, Gomal, Kurrum etc.

The Indus – Pakistan’s largest river with its five distributaries: Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Sutlej and Bias – is 23rd

largest in the world. Its annual water runoff places it 10th, and annual sediment discharge places it 6th in the world.⁵⁰ The Indus River and its five distributaries carry about 143.18 million acre feet (MAF) of water annually, out of which approximately 47.91 MAF (33.5 percent) is, however, wasted in system losses (evaporation, seepage and spill over etc) and the sea.⁵¹

Pakistan also possesses the greatest mass and collection of glaciated space on the face of earth – some 13,680 sq km⁵² including 70-km-long world 2nd largest Siachen glacier.⁵³ The glaciers and snowfields are main source of water for the country, especially for agriculture purposes. Fed by glaciers and snowfields Pakistan has one of the world largest artificial irrigation systems⁵⁴ – the Indus Basin Irrigation System – consisting three major reservoirs with 15 million acre storage capacity, approximately 19 barrages and 43 canals. Canals cover about 61,000 kms, with more than 110,000 watercourses covering another 1.6 million kms.⁵⁵

Sea Wealth

Apart from the above, Pakistan is bestowed with immense sea wealth. The country's coast is about 1000 km long extending from the Indian border on the east to the Iranian border in the west. The Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) of Pakistan is about 240,000 sq km with an additional continental shelf area of about 50,000 sq km. As such, the total maritime zone of Pakistan is over 30 percent of the land area.⁵⁶ Pakistan coastal area is rich in living and non-living assets including mineral, renewable and hydrocarbon resources. Living resources include: (1) vegetations like coastal seaweeds valuing as high as 112 tons/hectare and eight species of mangroves; and (2) a large fisheries spread in 230,000 hectare areas of mangroves – average fish catch is slightly over 4,50,000 tons per year (4,53,264 tons in 2010) with 2 percent increase annually.⁵⁷ Non-living wealth includes fresh water and energy resources. Apart from renewable ocean energy (tides, currents and waves) and bio-fuel (next-generation fuel), there are positive indicators of offshore hydrocarbon resources. Based on

per cubic mile yield of analogue producing basins offshore potential, 16,650 million barrels of oil or equivalent gas have been estimated in the offshore basin of Pakistan (Quadri 1984).⁵⁸ The non-living resources also include various industrial chemicals, a wide variety of mineral deposits, building material and sea salt. Presently sea salt of about 60,000 metric tons/year is being extracted from the seawater along the Sind and Baluchistan coasts.⁵⁹

Industrial Sector

Pakistan's economy is semi-industrialized. Pakistan's manufacturing sector accounts for about 26 percent of GDP⁶⁰ with total work force of 55.88 million (as per 2009).⁶¹ The major industries of the country include textile, cement, agriculture, fertilizer, steel, tobacco, edible oil, pharmaceuticals, construction materials, shrimp, sugar, food processing, chemicals and machinery.

Textile industry comprises 30 percent of the value added and provides employment to more than 1/3rd of the manufacturing sector in Pakistan.⁶² Cotton, textile and clothing manufacturers account for 64 percent of total exports.⁶³ Cotton is grown in almost 90 countries and Pakistan is ranked 2nd after the U.S. Pakistan along with the U.S., India and China have been accounting for approximately 55 percent of the global cotton consumption over the period 1980 to 2008. Furthermore, responding to the export-driven global demand for textiles, Pakistan has had the largest increase in volume (which multiplied by 6 between 1980 and 2008).⁶⁴

Military Strength

Paul Kennedy in his book, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers* asserts that the strength of a nation is measured in terms of its economic and military powers. As a matter of fact both military and economic capabilities complement each other. Economically strong country would be able to maintain a strong army and on the other hand a strong army would strengthen a state's economic development. Moreover, military

strength is related to not only the defence spending of a country, the size of its armed forces and number cum lethality of their arsenals, but to the military achievements of a nation in ensuring its internal and external peace and stability.

Pakistan armed forces stands at much higher pedestal once compared with contemporary world armies. Pakistan spends about \$7.6 billion (about 3.5% of its GDP)⁶⁵ to maintain its armed forces of over six hundred thousand (6th largest in the world).

But it is not merely the size and defence spending but the contribution of armed forces towards national defence and nation building. Pakistan Army, by all definitions, is the centre of gravity of the country. There were many internal and external challenges, in the history of the country, which were negotiated successfully by Pakistan Army.

It is the professional acumen, dedication and sincerity of Pakistan Armed forces that has kept the hope of every Pakistani – to rise as a proud and prosperous nation – alive.

Sports

It may be worth mentioning that Pakistan Hockey Team holds tremendous records and has world largest figures on the medal table. To mention few: four times winner of world cup i.e. Barcelona-1971, Buenos Aires-1978, Mumbai-1982 and Sydney-1994;⁶⁶ three times winner in Olympic hockey i.e. Room-;1960, Mexico-1968, and Munich-1972; thrice winner of Champions Trophy i.e. Lahore-1978, Karachi-1980 and Lahore-1994; eight times winner of Asian Games i.e. Tokyo-1998, Jakarta-1962, Bangkok-1970, Tehran-1974, Bangkok-1978, New Delhi-1982, Beijing-1990 and Doha-2010; thrice winner in Asia Cup i.e. Karachi-1982, Dhaka-1985 and Hiroshima-1989; three times winner in Sultan Azlan Shah in Malaysia in 1999, 2000 and 2003; and twice winner in Asian Hockey Champions Trophy i.e. October-2011 and November-2013. Besides Pakistan Hockey Team has also won 2 silver medals in world cup, 3 silver and 2 Bronze medals in Olympic games, 6 Silvers

and 7 Bronze medals in Champions Trophy, 2 Silvers and 3 Bronze medals in Asian Games, 3 Silver and 2 Bronze medals in Asia Cup, 6 Silver and 2 Bronze medals in Arzlan Shah Hockey Cup; and one Silver medal in Asian Hockey Champions Trophy. It is the maximum scoring of any of the world hockey team.

Pakistan is the most decorated squash nation in the world. The country has ruled squash for approximately half of a century. Its players have won the Squash World Open 17 times, and British Open 12 times – the highest by any nation. Besides all time great Jahangir Khan and Jansher Khan, Pakistan has produced several legendary squash players like Hashim Khan, Roshan Khan, Mohibullah Khan, Qamar Zaman and Gogi Allaudin.

Pakistan cricket team is one of the world best teams. It won the World Cup in 1992 and the World Twenty-Twenty Championship in 2009. The country has produced legendary players like Imran Khan, Javed Miandad, Hanif Muhammad and Zaheer Abbas.

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THE DIVERGING MISMATCH BETWEEN POTENTIALS AND PERFORMANCE

The empirical review of Pakistan's case – especially in the recent past – divulges a marked contrast between the country's performance and its potentials. The country has been bestowed with numerous potentials – in terms of its geography, human and natural resources – to rise as a great nation in the world. However, the process of its global rise did not take off even after the passage of sixty-seven years.

The people of Pakistan have seen many ups and downs in country's brief history. They were jubilant when their cricket team won the world cup in 1992 and Twenty-Twenty (T-20) world cup in 2009. They were also delighted whenever their national hockey team lifted trophy in an international event and Jahangir Khan as well Jansher Khan returned home after winning World / British Open. The Pakistani nation was also proud when their country conducted the nuclear tests and became the world seventh nuclear power. They were also proud when their army foiled Indian attack in September 1965 and conducted successful operation in Swat in 2009. But there were very few such occasions when the complete nation smiled together and was jubilant and felt proud of their identity.

The nation was dejected when their leadership had failed to lay a solid foundation for a political setup in the country and could not hold general election for about quarter of a century (the first general elections in Pakistan were held in 1970).¹ The nation was again disappointed when its government compromised in Tashkent after 1965 Indo-Pak War and lost the war on table – won by Pakistan Armed Forces on ground. The nation was again crestfallen when its Army surrendered in 1971 in East Pakistan marking dismemberment of its eastern wing. And there are numerous

episodes and a long list reflecting causes of the nations' depression. Pakistan's performance both at domestic and international theatre has shown a constant downtrend – especially in the post-9/11 period – which is serious source of concern for every patriotic citizen of the country and its well wishers abroad.

The worst part of the whole affair is not the recurrence of downhearted episodes but the non-seriousness and the non-visionary approach of our leadership. Many scholars representing national and international academia have written substantially on Pakistan's behaviour as an actor in international arena. Hassan Askari believes: "if Pakistan cannot be described as a failed state, it is not a success story either."² To Shah Mahmood Qurishi, the country's former foreign minister: "Pakistan is not a failed state but a mismanaged one."³ To Nicholas Schmidle, an American journalist: "Pakistan (is) the most dysfunctional – and most dangerous – country in the world."⁴ Farzana Sheikh, a famous Pakistani scholar in Great Britain while dismissing the rhetoric claim of a failed state, argues that: "the failure of the economy, political incoherence, separatism, corruption, and the rise of extremists are all problems – or in Paris's term "factors".⁵ Ali Jan Aurakzai, the former governor of KP Province and Corps Commander Peshawar argues that: "Pakistan cannot be termed as a failed state, however, it is subjected to various problems of administrative nature."⁶

All the above claims – presenting both optimistic and pessimistic views about Pakistan – do carry substantial supporting arguments. One collective and fair judgement – drawn from such assertions – could be seen in Stephen P. Cohan statement in his book "The Future of Pakistan" describing Pakistan – if not failing – at least a state not fulfilling the hopes of many people.⁷

An empirical analysis – to establish causes of Pakistan's ill-performance meeting its national and international commitments -- is the main research objective so as to find a way-forward. Three main areas of concerns – political,

economy and security – have been deliberated upon in this research which could lead us to significant conclusions.

Contemporary Debate on States' Prosperity and Poverty⁸

Amongst all the theories of prosperity and poverty, the most relevant explanations of Pakistan's prevalent gloomy environment could be found in two documents: Robinson book, "Why Nations Fail?", and Quaid-e-Azam's address to the first constituent assembly of August 11, 1947. Both are worth analysing.

Acemoglu and Robinson in their book, "Why Nations Fail?" have discussed the theory of world inequality. The authors describe that there are a number of inequalities among rich and poor countries, ranging from basic living facilities – like health, education and jobs – to national and social security, social justice and human rights. Quoting the example of Mexico and the U.S. the writers argue that the difference between the two is in turn small as compared to other states in the world. The average citizen in the U.S. is seven times more prosperous than an average citizen in Mexico and more than ten times as the residents in Peru or Central America. The authors claim that the basic reason of the difference of inequality between the states is the way their institutions – both political and economic – behave and shape the face of their nation.

Furthermore, various political scientists have identified some distinct patterns which lead to different hypothesis explaining the causes of nations' prosperity and poverty – the inequality theory. One such hypothesis is the geographical theory. The theory claims that the great divide between rich and poor countries is created by geographical differences. The exponents of the geographical theory argue that many poor nations, such as those of Africa, Central America and South Asia are situated between the Tropics of Cancer and Capricorn. On the other hand, rich countries are located in temperate latitude. The supporters of the geography theory

also believe that the geographical location not just explains the phenomenon of economic prosperity and poverty but also demonstrates the political behaviour of a country. The recent rapid development of certain tropical countries like Singapore, Malaysia, and Botswana have made certain modern economic and political thinkers, like Jaffery Sach, to believe that the geography theory is no more valid.

The second extensively accepted theory is the cultural theory which relates prosperity of nations to culture. The origin of the culture theory is traced back in the European Protestant Reformation movement helped in creating a working culture in the society which laid the foundation for the rise of modern industrial society in Western Europe. The proponents of the theory maintain that poor countries lack work culture – like certain African countries which still believe in magic and witchcraft, and resist Western technologies. Like geography theory, the culture theory has also lost its authenticity as many countries known for their lethargy have shown inordinate signs of economic rise. The best example of it is China which has proved itself as the most rapidly growing nation of the past three decades.

The third theory explaining the phenomenon of nations' poverty is the ignorance theory. The activists of the theory strongly believe that some nations are poor because their leaders are not aware of the potentials of their nations and / or have the same mistaken views of how to run their countries – the whole phenomenon leads to poverty. On the other hand the leaders of the rich states are better informed or better advised. The ignorance theory differs from rest of the two theories as it just not conducts the diagnosis but also presents the prognosis of the problem, i.e. how to solve the problem of poverty. If ignorance is the cause, enlightened and informed leaders, advisors, think-tanks and policymakers provide solution. The supporters of the theory also explain that when a nation's economy takes off on prosperous path, it does not mean that their leadership has suddenly become wise, efficient or better advised. Taking the example of China, it switched from economic policies that caused poverty to

market economy. In fact, the switchover also occurred politically as Deng Xiaoping and his allies defeated their strong opponents in the Communist Party and masterminded a political revolution, radically changing the leadership and direction of the party. Their economic reforms in agriculture and industry emerged from this political revolution.

Ignorance theory is the widely accepted theory among the contemporary economic and political scientists.

The other document which assists in understanding the causes of wide gap between Pakistan's vast potentials and past performance is the historic address of the father of the nation to Pakistan's first constituent assembly on August 11, 1947. The address reflects as how visionary the great leader was in establishing the correct causes of rise and falls of great nations. Unfortunately the problem diagnosed by the father of the nation sixty-six years ago are still the same – surprisingly in the same order of priority – which the nation is facing today.

The Quaid's address is not only a guide in identifying country's shortfalls but also presents a complete recipe of its rise as a proud and prosperous nation on world theatre.

The first observation which the Quaid makes, is regarding the sovereignty of the assembly – the political power – to take independent decisions for the country. He also stresses upon maintaining law and order – as the first and foremost duty of the state – so as to protect the life, property and religious beliefs of its people.

Quaid-e-Azam identifies corruption and bribery as the biggest curse in a states' machinery hindering their progress – the united India had been worst in the world. The other factors of nations' inequality are related to black-marketing, nepotism and jobbery. The Quaid strongly believes that the dream of making the state of Pakistan as a happy and prosperous nation can be fulfilled by wholly and solely

concentrating on the wellbeing of its people especially the poor masses.

Apart from justice and fair play in all national institution, the father of the nation lays extreme emphasis on the national unity as the most significant factor in state's role in domestic and international politics. To him the chief reason on subjugation of 400 million Indian nation by British was nothing but their divide as Muslim and Hindu communities – even further as Pathans, Punjabis, Shias, Sunnis and so on; and as Brahmins, Vashnavas, Kathris; also as Bengalis and Madrasis etc.

The analysis of the prevailing conditions of Pakistan in the light of ignorance theory and Quaid-e-Azam's address of August 11, 1947, could assist us in solving some basic problems associated with its political institution – as it would initiate a trickling-down effect in strengthening and capacity building of its institutions.

The whole course can make the Pakistani nation's dream – to emerge as proud and prosperous nation – come true.

Political Factors Contributing to Pakistan's Behaviour

Pakistan's political behaviour both at domestic and foreign arena has been far below the international standards which is attributable to a variety of factors ranging from national to international operating environment.

Leadership Deficit

The first and the foremost factors leading to the present incompetent, insincere, corrupt and inefficient political system is the "leadership deficit" – lack of sincere and visionary leadership. Pakistan and India got independence together and inherited similar political structure from their British master; however, they both have shown diverse results in shaping their countries' political behaviour. After the death

of the father of the nation on September 11, 1948 and the murder of Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan on October 16, 1951, the political process of the newly emerged state could not take off. Where, India remained committed to strengthening the roots of democracy, Pakistan followed the different path of confrontation between the two offices of Governor Generals/Presidents and Prime Ministers, and undemocratically/unconstitutionally appointing and removing the heads of the state. The fact, that in its initial ten years of political history Pakistan had tried seven premiers, four governor generals and three presidents, reflecting nothing but the failure of its political leadership and inviting extra constitutional forces to fill in the vacuum.

Even in the successive periods following the initial phase, the country had not seen any visionary leadership. Barring Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and to some extent his daughter Ms. Benazir Bhutto no leader stood at the pedestal of international stature. Mr. Bhutto had a dynamic and visionary personality, owing a lot to his credit as regards to shaping the political behaviour of the country. The master-reader of public pulse, Bhutto always spoke the language of the poor masses. Established Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) and attracted a vast majority of the people – especially the poor ones – with his historic slogan of “Rooti, Kapra and Makan” (Bread, Clothes and Shelter). He drafted and adopted the country’s third constitution in 1973, made successful negotiations with India after 1971 war materializing release of ninety thousands prisoners of war. He also held the 2nd Islamic Summit Conference in 1974 and initiated the country’s nuclear programme. Mr. Bhutto was just not a national leader but also had international stature. He being considered as an emerging threat to the strategic interests of the great global players, was eliminated from the scene through a military coup and subsequently awarded death punishment in 1979, in a politically motivated judicial verdict. Our leaders – both civil and military rulers – have always misread the great game plans and became prey to their designs. Pakistan could never find any other leader matching Bhutto’s acumen.

The successive periods of democratically elected governments in the country also present a bleak demonstration of its political behaviour. The governments of Ms. Benazir Bhutto and Mr. Nawaz Sharif – in late 1980s to late 1990s – as well the last PPP government – 2008 to 2013 – did not bring any phenomenal change in the well beings of its citizens or raising the states image in international community. The country's political indicators have, rather, shown a constant negative trend leading to: one, a complete disappointment of general masses on the political process cum leadership; and two, badly tarnishing the country's image in comity of nations.

The nation, today, is in a desperate search for a leader.

The Successive Military Regimes

The second factor – rather the most significant one – attributable to the country's marred performance is “the military regimes” or “Martial Laws”. The sixty-six years of the country's history has witnessed four military rules spread over 33 years. Though the military rulers had presented better economic indicators than the politically elected civilian leadership, but it cannot be taken as a justification for successive military autocracy in the county. The in-depth analysis of the periods of the military rule in Pakistan reveals that the prevailing marred functioning of the state's economic, political, security and social institutions is credited to the flawed and short-term policies of the military rulers.

Discussing the economy first, it is believed that most of the economic development in Pakistan occurred during the periods of dictatorship. The claim is not valid as the country's economic growth during military regimes was not linked with the institutional efficiency or the visionary policies and reforms by the military rulers. It was based on foreign aid – mostly from the U.S. – which the military rulers had been receiving in response to fulfilling their regional strategic objectives. During 1950s and 1960s the U.S. wanted to have a reliable partner against communism and space to conduct

spying missions against the former USSR. On the other hand Field Marshal Ayub Khan needed international support to continue its undemocratic rule. Their interests converged. Pakistan was already member of SEATO and CENTO, and during the Ayub's era it became the U.S. most trusted ally against communism. In return Pakistan received handsome economic assistance from the U.S. – though it was marked by the lack of the U.S. support during the Indo-Pak war and its aftermath. Pakistan received about \$260 million in 1959 and more than \$550 millions in 1965 in economic assistance from the U.S.⁹

During Zia's period (1977-1988) Pakistan was the frontline ally of the U.S. led coalition against the former Soviet Union in the Afghan War (1979-1988). General Zia-ul-Haq cashed on the Afghan war not just in prolonging his tenure but also extracting maximum financial and military assistance from the coalition partners. Zia was offered \$400 million in military aid by the White House but he politely refused the offer as "peanuts". President Jimmy Carter then invited the General in Washington and was quoted to utter these remarks: "Zia's knowledge of the sensitivities and ideals of the American life make him particularly dear to us."¹⁰ One could not agree more with Stephen P Cohan when he comments on the country's economic situation: "the two most dramatic spurts in economic growth during the Ayub and Zia times were accompanied by high level of aid from the United State, military grants from China and subsidies from Saudi Arabia".¹¹

Similarly when the U.S was attacked on September 11, 2001 on its own soil and it decided to launch an offensive in Afghanistan, General Pervez Musharraf was there in Pakistan to offer support to the U.S. and its NATO allies. Musharraf kept supporting the U.S. war on terror (WOT) in response to the U.S. assurance of continuity of his regime and economic assistance to Pakistan.

As regards to the political fallout of the military regimes, there could be no two opinions that military rulers in Pakistan kept the political process stalled for a longer period of time – a

major cause of non-development of the political institutions and democratic culture. At one hand the people were denied their constitutional right of electing their representatives, and on the other it also did not let the political leadership to mature or let new leadership to emerge. Besides using parliament – elected through engineered elections especially during Zia's and Musharraf's regimes – for passing resolutions favouring the dictators' choices, courts were also compelled to give favourable decisions. In 1985, the Majlis-e-Shura (in the absence of an elected parliament) passed the controversial 8th amendment in the constitution of 1973, strengthening the authority of the president and granting additional powers to dismiss an elected government or even the prime minister. General Zia-ul-Haq also used the country's elitist court to remove Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto from the national and international political scene – once for all. Similarly, on May 13, 2000, a twelve member bench of the Supreme Court of Pakistan validated the October 1999 coup on the basis of "doctrine of necessity" and granted the last military dictator, Musharraf, executive and legislative authority for three years.¹²

The next ill-effect of the successive military regimes in Pakistan occurred on the overall law and order situation of the country. Two of the most vital decisions in the country's history – both taken by the military rulers – played havoc to the country's internal security situation. Firstly, in 1979 when President Zia decided to join the coalition in the Afghan War, a large influx of Afghan refugees migrated to Pakistan. Not visualizing the implications, General Zia allowed the refugees to settle anywhere in the country. This decision alone changed the complete security dynamics of the country. The second decision of even worse intensity was taken by General Pervez Musharraf by joining WOT. There could be many arguments for or against the decision but the way General Musharraf safeguarded the U.S. interests on the cost of Pakistan's national interests, it dramatically changed the country's internal security characteristics. Despite sacrificing about fifty thousand of innocent civilians and over five thousand of soldiers, the nation is still inquisitive to conclude whether it is

our war or not. But the war is still on and the nation is paying the price of the unconstitutional military rulers.

In the security perspective it may be worth noting that almost all the major security crisis occurred during the military regimes. Pakistan fought three wars with India. Except for Kashmir War of 1948, rest both of 1965 and 1971 wars were fought during the periods of dictatorship in Pakistan. Pakistan also failed to achieve the war objectives in Tashkent Summit in 1966 and converted the victory into defeat. The dismemberment of East Pakistan also took place during military rule. Furthermore, Pakistan also has a history of border clashes and mobilization of forces against India. During most of the occasions – like Operation Brashtak 1987 and mobilization of forces 2002 – Pakistan was governed by the military rulers. Kargil-1999 is major border clash between the two which took place when there was civilian government in Pakistan. It is, however, believed by many critics that Kargil was a solo-flight of the Army Chief, General Pervez Musharraf.

On regional theatre whenever there is some great game plan, some military ruler assumes the power in Pakistan. In 1969 President Ayub Khan hands over powers to General Yahya Khan. Later in 1971, Bangladesh is created by mutilating the Eastern Wing of Pakistan. In 1977 General Zia-ul-Haq stages military coup. Two years later, Pakistan becomes the focus of attention of the whole world and assumes the status of the U.S. vanguard in Afghan war, playing the leading role in dismemberment of the world largest communist empire in 1991. Similarly, General Pervez Musharraf comes to power in 1999 through a coup d'état. Again after two years in 2001, Pakistan plunges into a long, bloody and continuous WOT. Are all these by default or by design? It's a food for thought for the pundits of International Relations.

Pakistan needs to close the doors of military take-over for growth and up to the mark performance of its political institution.

Power Tussle between Presidents and Prime Ministers

The third contributing factor to Pakistan's marred political behaviour is power tussle between the two good offices of presidents and prime ministers. After the death of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah in 1948, Khwaja Nazimudin became the 2nd Governor General of the country. Later on assassination of Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan in 1951, Khwaja Nazimudin assumed the office of the premier, appointing Malik Ghulam Malik as Governor General. The arrangement, however, proved counterproductive in setting the path of democratic norms in the newly emerged nation, and soon differences between the two offices surfaced over accumulation of powers. On April 17, 1953, Malik Ghulam Muhammad dismissed Premier Khwaja Nazimudin, appointing Muhammad Ali Bogra as the prime minister.

The act of Malik Ghulam Muhammad set an unhealthy trend in Pakistani politics, and several office bearers in presidency, repeated the action many a times on the pretext of the self-suited best national interests.

The power brawl, however, continued to dominate the country's politics for the initial ten years, during which eight prime ministers were appointed – Liaquat Ali Khan (1947-51); Khwaja Nazimudin (1951-53); Muhammad Ali Bogra (1953-55); Chaudhry Muhammad Ali (1955-56); Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy (1956-57); Ibrahim Ismail Chundrigar (October-December 1957); Feroz Khan Noon (1957-58); and General Ayub Khan (24-28 October, 1958).¹³ More importantly, all the prime ministers (barring Liaquat Ali Khan) were appointed undemocratically and removed due to their differences with their heads of the state. The tussle even persisted between President Iskander Mirza and General Ayub Khan which finally terminated in fully grabbing the political powers by General Ayub Khan, forcing Iskander Mirza to resign before sending him to exile.

Later in 1985, President Zia-ul-Haq managed securing of controversial 8th amendment in 1973 constitution by the parliament elected through non-party basis. The amendment altered the balance of power between the two offices of the president and the prime minister. Most importantly, the article 58-2(b) of the constitution inserted via 8th amendment gave the president discretionary power to dissolve national assembly and even dismiss prime minister.¹⁴ The amendment changed the nature of Pakistan's political system – from parliamentary to include elements of presidential form of government. Using his discretionary powers, President Zia dismissed the Junejo's government in May 1988. Later, the same powers were also exercised by: firstly, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, dismissing Benazir's government in August 1990, and Nawaz Sharif's governments in April and July 1993; and secondly, President Farooq Laghari in packing up Benazir's government in November 1996.

The worst scenario on national political scene emerged in 1997 when the two offices became "Operational Rooms" – occupied by many interest groups – planning and executing actions against each other. President Laghari whose powers to dismiss the government (article 58-2(b)) were slashed by Premier Nawaz Sharif through 13th amendment, launched Chief Justice (CJ) of Supreme Court of Pakistan, Sajjad Ali Shah against the prime minister's camp. The controversy between the CJ and the PM started when the CJ had sent summary to the government, recommending five senior judges of provincial High Courts to be promoted to fill in the vacant slots in the Supreme Court.¹⁵ The interest groups in both the camps – the president and prime minister – wanted their own sympathisers in the court. The controversy at one hand put the whole government dysfunctional – to public related affairs as the whole machinery was involved in the battle of the two – and on the other, badly damaged the country's image in international community. The issue settled on resignation of the president – under the Army's pressure – and appointment of new CJ.

For the development of a strong political institution, the nation needs to choose either the presidential or the parliamentary form of government.

Election Processes and the Institution of Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP)

The 4th factor hindering the growth of the country's political institution is related to "election processes and the functioning of ECP."

Towards the election process, it is important to note that the country's first general elections were held in 1970.¹⁶ If the people of the country are denied to exercise their constitutional right to vote for about a quarter of a century, then the development of a political culture cannot stem out. The other important element, associated with elections, is the respect of the people's verdict. The phenomenon may be even pronounced in relations to the election results of 1970 and its fallout on Pakistan's geo-political hessian. In the National Assembly elections of December 7, 1970, Pakistan Awami League (Sheikh Mujibur Rehman) won 167 out of 313 seats, whereas Pakistan People Party (Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto) won 88 seats. In East Pakistan, Mujib's party won 167 out of 169 seats, and in West Pakistan, Bhutto's party won 88 out of 144 seats. In the Provincial Assemblies election held on December 17, 1970, Pakistan Awami League won 298/310 seats in Bengal, PPP won 113/180 in Punjab and 28/68 in Sind Assemblies.¹⁷ The verdict of the people was, however, not respected by the civil and military elites of the country. Consequently the population in East Pakistan revolted against the regime for not transferring powers to the winning majority i.e. Pakistan Awami League. India, while utilizing the opportunity, intervened and the chapter of East Pakistan closed with creation Bangladesh. Nations do pay heavy price if their leaders abuse the collective public verdict!

In the next nine general elections – held in March-1977, February-1985, November-1988, November-1990, October-1993, February-1997, October-2002, February-2008 and

May-2013 – the country has, though, not suffered such a huge toll, but the outcome of elections have never brought any phenomenal change in the country's political behaviour, both domestically and internationally. Except for election-1977 – which resulted in the longest military regime of the country – the results were generally accepted by all political parties but the fairness and transparency of the election had always been questionable. All national and foreign observer groups, apart from highlighting rigging also raised serious observations for not providing level playing grounds to all political actors. As observed by Andrew R. Wilder on election-2002: "The government's blatantly partial election strategy was to do everything possible to weaken Pakistan's two major political parties, the PPP and the PML(N), while doing everything possible to create viable pro-Musharraf parties and alliances, notably the PML(Q)."¹⁸

Besides pre-poll rigging and manipulation of results, many observer groups – like European Union Election Observation Mission (EU EOM), International Foundation of Electoral System (IFES) and Fair and Free Election Network (FAFEN), and National Democratic Institute (NDI) – have always registered complaints regarding misuse of state resource in favour of a specific political party – ECP has always failed to curb the authorities for such misuse.

The ECP is still far away from introducing the advanced methods of conducting polls and preparation of results. Is it due to resource constraint or ignorance of technological knowhow, or by design to achieve engineered election results?

In the absence of an independent, efficient and neutral Election Commission, the national dream of political renaissance cannot come true.

Absence of Grass-root Level of Democracy

Where all the political scientists have developed consensus that democracy is the best form of the government, they also believe that the true essence of democracy cannot be achieved

without devolving powers to grass-root level. In Pakistan grass-root level democracy was introduced by General Ayub Khan in 1959 when local bodies' elections – famous Basic Democracy (BD) system – were held. The system though encompassed several regulatory and development functions to local governments, especially at the lowest tiers but it also contained certain grey areas. The most objectionable facet of the whole system emerged when 80,000 Basic Democrats were declared, under the 1962 constitution, as the electoral college for the election of the president, and national and provincial assemblies. It also created a network allies for the government by developing a direct relationship between the bureaucracy and the rural elite who were given access to the state's resources.¹⁹ Ayub used the BD members in his presidential elections of January 1965. He, though, triumphed over Fatima Jinnah, but after the election voices demanding his resignation were raised from all over the country.

The second experiment of local governments was conducted during General Zia's era. In 1979, Zia promulgated the Local Government Ordinance (LGO) to activate local governments.²⁰ Under the LGO, local bodies were elected in all the four provinces during 1979 and 1980. In essence, the local bodies were not authorised full mandate to perform their functions through more active participation of the people in community development at grass-root level. Like Ayub's BD system, the local bodies during Zia's regime were used to create a pro-government class to facilitating and supporting the continuity of military rule. This approach helped Zia in electing his supporting candidates in the non-party basis general elections of 1985.

The worst tradition of executing development works was also set in the same period. Previously all the development projects were executed through public institutions like city development authorities, municipal corporations and town committees. However, General Zia adopted the policy of placing the development funds at the disposal of ministers and members of assemblies (of course belonging to the ruling party) to increase their individual chances of re-election.

The practice of allocation of development fund to politically elected representative is still in vogue even after the revival of party-based elections. It has axed the capacity of the state's institutions and promoted all the curses of the society – bribery, corruption, nepotism and jobbery – in political and public offices which the father of the nation highlighted in his address to the first constituent assembly on August 11, 1947, stressing upon the government to crush them relentlessly.

The third model of grass-root level of democracy was introduced as the “Devolution of Power” plan by General Pervez Musharraf in January 2000. The LG Plan 2000 was prepared by Lieutenant General (retired) S. Tanvir H. Naqvi, the Chairman National Reconstruction Bureau (NRB), one District Management Group (DMG) officer, and several serving as well as retired members of police. The system was based on five fundamentals: devolution of political power; decentralization of administrative authority, decentralization of management functions; diffusion of the power-authority nexus; and the distribution of the resources to district level.²¹

It was a complete new concept based on the transfer of political power at district level. The major change in the system was the renewed role of district administration. Deputy Commissioners (DCs) were replaced with District Coordination Officers (DCOs) with directly under District Nazims (the head of the district government). DCOs were required to coordinate the district administration with assistance from Executive District Officers (EDOs), district officers and deputy district officers.

Despite the fact the organism contained a score of positive aspects, yet many of its downbeats – like: its implementation system; election of the public representative on non-party basis; and allocation of funds on political basis keeping the Zia's traditions alive – made it controversial. The critic relating the plan as “the old wine in the new bottle” linked it to the BD system pronounced by Ayub Khan in 1960.²²

It is also interesting that all the three models of grass-root level of democracy were presented by non-democratic governments. No politically elected head of the state had initiated or was ready to transfer powers to lower level. "What are the reasons for this dichotomy?", asked the researcher from a former Director General (DG) Military Land and Cantonments (ML&C), Major General (retired) Syed Ithar Hussain Shah. "Nothing short of the reflection of dictatorship disguised in civvies for centralization of power and resource, so as to manipulate their political designs and ensure re-election of their favourite candidate"²³, replied the DG.

Till such times, a true model of a grass-root level of democratic system is not installed, the nation would not be able to find their true representatives in the houses of parliament.

Regional and International Factors

Several regional and international factors have also contributed in restricting the nourishment of the democratic institutions of the country. The foreign actors supported the undemocratic policies of the elected governments and even encouraged the military rulers to intervene in the country's political structure and prolong their stay, as it suited their international agenda.

In its initial few years – extremely important for setting up a stable political base – the country experienced recurring turbulences in its political system. The incurable episodes of the power game – like persisting tussle between the two good offices of the heads of the state, and appointing/dismissing governments on personal whims – fall in the realm of extra-constitutional measures and undemocratic norms. However, it all went unnoticed by the international society – especially the U.S.A. – as Pakistan enjoyed cordial bilateral relations with the U.S. and its leaders frequently paid official visits to the White House.

Besides, Liaquat Ali Khan's official visit of May 3-5, 1950, four top country heads were received by the U.S. State Department from 1947 to 1957. Governor General Malik Ghulam Muhammad dismissed Prime Minister Khwaja Nazimudin on April 17, 1953; and afterwards visited America from November 8-13, the same year. Similarly Prime Ministers Bogra and Suhrawardy – both swore in without being politically elected – also paid official visits to the White House in October, 1954 and July, 1957 respectively.²⁴

Pakistan's leadership had enjoyed full U.S. support, despite their damaging role towards country's democratic institutions. It had not merely been out of sincerity – as there is no concept of free lunch in international politics – rather due to the U.S. strategic interest in the region, especially against the communist threat from former Soviet Union, and the leading role Pakistan had been playing for the fulfilment of the U.S. goals. During its early period (1947 to 1959) Pakistan was associated with the U.S. in four mutual security arrangements: (1) signed Multi Defence Assistance Agreement with the United State in 1954; (2) joined SEATO in 1954; (3) joined Baghdad Pact (CENTO) in 1955; and (4) signed Bilateral Agreement of Cooperation with the U.S. in 1959. It was the only Asian country as member of the both SEATO and CENTO, and had been related as "America's most allied ally in Asia."²⁵

The U.S. commitment had not been limited to the un-democratic political leadership of Pakistan, rather it had remained even more pronounced with the military autocrats. The White House was honoured three times by Field Marshal Ayub Khan: July 1961, September 1962, and December 1965; once by General Yahya Khan in October 1970; thrice by General Zia: October 1980, December 1982, and October 1985; and as many as eight times by General Musharraf: November 2001, February and September 2002, June and September 2003, September and December 2004, and September 2006.²⁶

It's rather interesting to note that the American presidents have never visited Pakistan during the tenure of a democratically elected government. Their visits to Pakistan have always coincided with the military rule in the country: President Eisenhower in December 1959 and Johnson in December 1967 -- both during the Ayub's era; Nixon in August 1969 during Yahya's time; Clinton in March 2000 and Bush in March 2006 during Musharraf's regime.²⁷

The official treatment to the non-democratic civilian and military rulers, by the custodians of democracy proved counterproductive in achieving political stability in Pakistan.

The ill-growth of the state's democratic institutions cannot be judged merely by viewing the bilateral visits, rather by critically analysing the services which the international community had and has sought from non-democratic actors of the Pakistani politics. Joining hands with the U.S. in four security arrangements (1950s) had never helped Pakistan in securing its vital national interests, as during 1965 and 1971 wars with India, the Multi Defence Assistance Agreement-1954 and the Bilateral Agreement of Cooperation-1958 never came into play. In 1965 Pakistan was in the best position to resolve the Kashmir issue, but to the U.S., India was priority number one, hence Pakistan was forced to accept a compromise at Tashkent in 1966. Furthermore, the role Pakistani military leadership -- played in return of securing their regimes -- during Afghan war and ongoing WOT has only served the U.S. vital interests. To Pakistan, it only played havoc to its political and other state institutions.

Causes of Economic Downfall

It is an established fact that the state's economic institutions have been in the virtual shape of siege for over many years. Except for the periods of 1960s and 2000s, when the country's economy demonstrated positive indicators, the overall economic situation of the country remained below par international standards as well the domestic needs. The economy experienced a growth of 7 percent in the decade from

1959,²⁸ and 7.7 percent in 2005.²⁹ But, these indicators are not attributable to the structural reforms, institutional capacity building policies, and farsightedness of our leadership, rather to the strong international support and foreign loans.

In the recent past Pakistan economy has shown a constant downward trend. GDP growth has fallen from 7.7 in 2005 to 3.6 in 2013. In other regional countries the indicators of Bangladesh and Sri Lanka were over 6 percent in 2012. The power sector has demonstrated the worst feat. Total investments declined from over 18 percent of GDP in 2006/07 to less than 15 percent in 2012/13. Net foreign assets (NFA) reduced to Rs. 196.8 billion as compared to Rs. 268.7 billion in 2011/12. Rupee-dollar parity has always been towards the negative plane. Unemployment increased to 9.2 percent in 2013 as compared to 5.3 percent in 2007. And inflation reached up to 9 percent as compared to over 7 percent in 2007.³⁰

Due to the country's prevailing economic situation, the people of Pakistan have lost their faith in political forces and the state's potentials as a dignified member of the world community. The elements of the national disappointment towards the economic revival need to be analysed by both the political and economic theorists. The objective assessment of the whole scenario reveals that the current regretful economic picture is an accumulative result of many factors which are discussed in the succeeding pages.

Linkage of Political and Security Elements with Economy

A country's net behaviour in domestic and global theatre is the mixture of its economic, political and security paradoxes. None of them can be discussed in isolation.

In Pakistan's political and security paradigm, the interplay of various domestic actors – nationalists, ethnic, religious, and sectarian – as well international player – regional competitive

environment cum disparities, next-door neighbour countries' situations, and great nations' (U.S., China and Russia) interests in South Asian politics – have made Pakistan a volatile and unstable country.

On domestic front, the country has been subjected to frequent government changes and arbitrary military regimes. In the sixty-six years of its parliamentary history, Pakistan has seen four governor generals, 15 presidents (including four military rulers), and 27 prime ministers (including six caretakers).³¹ None of the prime ministers – heads of governments – could complete his/her five years tenure. The average office tenure of all elected or appointed premiers comes to less than two-and-half years. Under such uncertain conditions no leader is in a position to implement his economic agenda, and put into action his plan to improve the country's law and order situation. The political leadership also needs to weigh the outcome of the plan, learn from the mistakes and take corrective measures.

The other political factor hindering the economic growth is inconsistency in the policies. In 1950s, Pakistan initiated liberal growth model with private sector to play the leading role. It was pursued and accelerated by Ayub Khan and his economic experts in 1960s. Later in 1970s Bhutto replaced it with the socialist economic model by promulgating the Nationalization and Economic Reforms Order of January 1, 1972. However, soon after coming to power in 1977, General Zia rejected the Bhutto's model and switched back to the old private sector model.

The next political factor in the country's poor economic behaviour is related to the absence of long term strategies by the successive governments. Democratic governments may find excuse for not completing their constitutional office tenure, but long tenures of Ayub, Zia and Musharraf offered them major opportunities to introduce structural reforms. During Musharraf's time Pakistan was one of the fastest growing Asian economies. But the – the consumer led, credit induced, service-focused growth policies – neglected

agriculture and manufacturing sectors which resulted in making the rich richer and the poor poorer.³²

The last political government (2008-2013) can also not be excused for not initiating any structural reforms as it enjoyed its full constitutional term of governance.

Besides domestic variants a number of global factors have also been responsible in downplaying Pakistan's economic status. At the time of its inception, Pakistan – owing to its security compulsions – joined the American camp and became member of SEATO and CENTO. Pakistan, though, could not achieve its objective of ensured security at the time of need – both in 1965 and 1971 wars – but it provided the U.S. an opportunity to intervene into Pakistan's political, security and economic affairs. Since then Pakistan has not been able to get out of this dilemma. The frontline role which Pakistan has played in Afghan War (1979-1989) and has been playing in the ongoing WOT, has never helped the state to improve its economy.

The role of Indian factor in Pakistan's political and security paradigm is too behind the erratic performance of Pakistan's economic institutions. Due to the lingering Kashmir issue and other territorial disputes – including Siachen and Sir Creek – both the nations have fought three wars. Wars are otherwise an expensive affair and cripple the nations' economies. Further, Pakistan has always been compelled to increase its defence budget at the expense of development projects. Similarly, the Indian quest for regional dominance has also forced Pakistan to acquire matching nuclear capability and join India in the expensive arm race.

Above all, the ongoing WOT, besides entailing heavy toll of human lives, has also struck massive blow to the fragile Pakistan economy. As per estimates made by various organisations and experts, the Pakistan economy has suffered over \$100 billion in the past twelve years of war.

Neglect of Agriculture and Manufacturing Sectors

As discussed during the research of Pakistan's potentials above, the country has huge potentials in agriculture and manufacturing sectors. Agriculture and manufacturing accounting for 24 and 26 percent of the GDP respectively are the back bone of Pakistan's economy. The sectors' outputs have rather been poor in terms of meeting the country's requirement and generating meaningful revenue through exports. The adverse performance of both the sectors – despite the fact that the majority of the country's ruler class is either from feudal or industrial background – makes Robinson's ignorance theory applicable to our national elite. It is the pathetic saga of two classes: unaware of the value of their wealth, ignorant of their capabilities, ill-informed of the world latest trends and technology, and ill-trained to manage and multiply their resources and wealth.

Both the agriculture and manufacturing sectors lack government backing and are managed by private farmers / firms. The private entrepreneurs conduct all the business procedures at their own, ranging from investment and production to trade and transportation. Even imports and exports are also managed privately. As per Dr. Ishrat Hussain ninety percent or more of the national income is managed by the private sector where as the government generate, controls and regulates only ten percent.³³

With backing of the public sector and facilitating policy formulation, Pakistan's agricultural and manufacturing sectors can pay revolutionary dividends.

Investor Confidence

The country's environments have never been conducive for internal as well as external investors. Both the country's law and order situation and successive governments' preferences are responsible for shattering the investors' confidence. The nationalization of the private sector enterprise initiated by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in 1972 was the first blow to the investors'

confidence, vastly curtailing the participation of the private sector in boosting the national economy. In 1971/72, the share of private investment in the national economy was 92.6 percent which reduced to 29.4 percent in 1976-77.³⁴ It is due to the trust deficit of private sector in the government policies that most of the people – including a large majority working abroad – invest their capital in real estate (purchasing of properties) which is a dead investment and contributes nothing to the national economy.

In 1990s, the Benazir government concluded agreement with foreign investors – called the Independent Power Producers (IPPs) – for generation of electricity. The government power policy was highly successful as it attracted substantial FDI to Pakistan's power sector.³⁵ Later, in 1998, the Nawaz Sharif's government, not finding the policy overly generous, initiated a rift with IPPs over the transparency of the contracts. The Sharif's government might had some substance in its judgement but the sheer mishandling of the case resulted in landing of the country in a serious bind besides risking the \$4.8 billion³⁶ of foreign investment.

Economist round the globe claim that countries and corporations actively compete for capital for investment, and advocate that there must be an absence of surprises and the sanctity of contracts must be ensured.³⁷ Even today the functioning of the country's fiscal institutions is politically motivated, not basing on the long term economic strategies of free market attracting private investors.

The country's prevailing security situation is also detrimental to private investment. After terrorists attack on Sri Lankan cricket team in Lahore in 2009, no cricket – and many other sports – teams have ever toured Pakistan. If this could be the reaction of sports teams, the assessment of foreign investment can be well judged.

Private investors cannot make long term investment decisions without the protection of law and order and safety of their life and property.

Economic Policies for the Elitist Class

The analysts of the Pakistan economy, like Dr Isharat Hussain, believe that a small group of elites have managed to hijack the state economic institution. The “Elitist State” in control of both the private and public sector, rig the market for its own exclusive benefit. The elitist model of economy – unlike the share model of economic growth resulted into rapid reduction in poverty and more equitable distribution of the benefits of developments – the markets produce inefficient outcomes that are detrimental to the long-term sustainability of growth with states exacerbating inequitable distribution of benefits.³⁸

Albeit, greater equality in wealth, human capital and political power is likely to promote broad and deep markets, in Pakistan the elite class (which already enjoys tax-exemptions and subsidies) is further protected in all the policy and institutional variables, to avail all the opportunities to multiply their gains.

The existence of the evil in the society – in the form of black marketing, nepotism and jobbery - was also spotted by the father of the nation during his address to the country’s first constituent assembly on August 11, 1947. Disclosing the key to making the country a happy and prosperous nation, the Quaid emphasised on the need of concentrating wholly on the well-being of the people, especially of the masses and the poor. The founder of Pakistan said: “. . . . no matter to what community he belongs, no matter what relations he had with you in the past, no matter what is his colour, caste or creed, is first, second and last a citizen of this state with equal rights, privileges and obligations, there will be no end to the progress you will make.”

Low Preference to Education

The most significant factor responsible for Pakistan’s economic downfall is its low priority to educational sector. This factor alone has contributed primarily in shaping

Pakistan's negative image in international community. Apart from damaging the country internally, and marring its economic growth, the poor education system has politically not helped the nation to find a place as a highly regarded member of the world society.

As per the words of Stephen P. Cohan: "A modern state that neglects education will have all more difficulty adapting to changing circumstances, including new economic opportunities, changes in the physical environment, and new strategic alignment."³⁹ As the database maintained by United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the developed and developing countries invest heavily on their education system. The comparison of Pakistan spending on education (percentage of its GDP) with its contemporary model states shows that: China spends about 2.5 percent of its GDP on education and planning to increase to 4 percent by 2014; France 5.9 percent; Germany 4.6 percent; India 3.1 percent; Japan 3.8 percent; Russia 4.1 percent; the U.S. 5.4 percent; and the U.K. 5.6 percent. Pakistan spends just 2.4 percent (far below the world lowest human development indicator of 5.2 percent) in this head and ranks 146th in the world.⁴⁰

Analysis of the literacy rates of the contemporary world divulge that there are 78 countries in the world with over 90 percent of literacy rate including 20 countries touching the figure of almost 100 percent. Pakistan is listed at 139th position out of 153 countries with just 54.9 percent.⁴¹

The education system of Pakistan – mismatching the nation's urge to acquire a respectable place in the world canvas – reflects the polarization of the society in many distinct groups: expensive private educational institutes; the government own schools; few missionary schools established in the colonial years by Catholic and Protestant churches; and the religious seminaries. The three categories of educational structure follow totally different syllabi with no control of the state on private and religious seminaries, causing a diverging split in the future generation of the country. No government considered this factor before allowing private and religious

institutions to flourish. The policymakers and rulers still maintain that the private and religious institutions have contributed a lot in spreading the education in the country. Emphasising the significance of religious seminaries (*Madrisas*), the former President Pervez Musharraf has often been heard in press conferences and other occasions that these seminaries are the largest NGOs, providing free boarding and lodging facilities to the poor children. The question arises as to what cost these free services are being provided?

Further, the teachers and scholars are not given the status in the society which they deserve – they receive the most meagre rewards and amenities, and hardly any incentive to improve their knowledge and increase their motivation.⁴² The state of higher education in the country is even disappointing. Apart from the salary structure of the university teachers which is extremely low as compared to other working class, the state run universities suffer from the bureaucratic dilemma of discouraging freedom of expression. A university's hallmark is its research work and quality publications; Pakistani universities are far behind the milestone.

The business class of the country is mostly uneducated and unaware of the new technologies and scientific developments. Technical education and skill developing institutions are extremely few in number especially in the private sector, those working in public sectors just present average results.

Without giving due preference to education sector and introducing the modern technologies, there would not be any worthwhile improvement in Pakistan's economy.

Security Analysis

Threat Perception: Know thy Enemy

The biggest challenge Pakistan had faced in 1947 was related to the question of its survival as an independent and sovereign state. Pakistan's strategic environments –

conditioned by its perception of security threat from next-door hostile India – compelled its elite to leap on the U.S. bandwagon and opt for the Western security system (SEATO and CENTO). Ever since, India remained Pakistan's number one enemy. With a score of concerns – the unfinished partition agenda of Kashmir and Sir Creek, and later issues like Siachen and sharing of water sources – the history of the two is littered with three full-scale wars and numerous major / minors borders clashes, casting heavily to both the sides. In all the three wars and other border clashes the human loss to Pakistan army amounts to over 15,000 (as compared to killing of about 10,000 Indian soldiers).⁴³ In terms of economic price, Pakistan has been spending much higher proportion of its national resources on defence – approximately about 7 percent of its GDP every year – as compared to Indian spending of over 3 percent of GDP annually.⁴⁴

Later, the Indian acquisition of nuclear capability as manifested in Rajasthan nuclear explosions of May, 1974, as well development of long-range ballistic missiles, forced Pakistan to join India in the dangerous and expensive arm race. Pakistan reciprocated to Indian nuclear tests of May 11, 1998 with equally impressive response on May 28, 1998. Dr. Peter Lavoy, the U.S. principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defence for Asian and Pacific Security Affairs, while examining the security of Pakistan – as a nuclear state – under balance of power theory in a realist paradigm, justifies its acquisition of nuclear capability. He explains that a weaker state in order to maintain balance of power with a stronger adversary, either “bandwagon” with even a stronger state or find a “balance” against the emerging threat. Pakistan opted for the latter.⁴⁵

In between Pakistan-India traditional rivalry, Pakistan also faced a complex security threat emanating from its western Afghan border. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 dramatically complicated the security paradigm of Pakistan. Pakistan faced the threat of double envelopment from both the evils i.e. the Soviet occupied Afghanistan and the hostile India. Pakistan's apprehension of being the next Soviet target,

forced its strategic planners to draw their country into the Afghan cauldron unwittingly. Though the Afghan war ended in 1989 with withdrawal of Soviet forces – ultimately resulting into the disintegration of the world largest communist empire – but it left far reaching imprints on Pakistan’s internal security dimensions.

The final blow to Pakistan’s national security transpired when the terrorists hit the World Trade Centre (WTC) in New York on September 11, 2001. With the fall of the twin towers the complete structure of Pakistan’s security got deformed. After the 9/11 catastrophe, the U.S decided to launch the bloody WOT. On September 20, 2001 President George W. Bush while giving one of the significant speeches of his 1st term said: “Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us or you are with the terrorists.”⁴⁶ He also pressured Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf to cooperate in the war against Al-Qaeda before launching attack on Afghanistan in October, 2001. Pakistan’s leadership neither did visualize the spill over of the Afghan war inside Pakistan nor did take any measures to guard the state’s best national interests before opting for a full fledged support to the U.S. in the ongoing WOT.

There could be many arguments in favour of the decision to side Americans in the WOT but the way the war progressed it badly damaged Pakistan’s vital national interests. Analysing in retrospect, the Musharraf’s decision of joining the ongoing WOT one can make two claims: firstly, in the absence of an elected government it was an individual decision and not the collective wisdom of the public representatives; secondly, the decision cannot be termed as a rational choice if weighed under Max Weber’s rationality model as in the cost-benefit equivalence, Pakistan has gained nothing despite paying a very cost.

Despite the fact that Pakistan has paid a very heavy price of the war – over five thousand combatant soldiers and forty-five thousand innocent civilians fatalities,⁴⁷ besides more than \$100 billion economic losses⁴⁸– the magnitude of the threat

has not lowered. It has, rather, grown to a dangerous level, forcing the strategic planners in Pakistan Army to believe that a host of assorted militants are a bigger threat than India. Although there is no official stance on the strategic realignment in the operational doctrine of Pakistan Army but many think tanks – both at home and abroad – argue in favour of the paradigm shift in the military operational priorities.

A number of analysts of international repute have long been highlighting the mosaic of threats to Pakistan's internal stability, hampering upon its leadership to accord top priority to the state's internal security issues. Daniel S Markey, senior fellow for India, Pakistan, and South Asia at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), makes assessment on Pakistan security in these words, "The nation suffers from the cancerous growth of violent and extreme ideologies, now embedded too deeply and dispersed too widely to be removed by the political equivalent of minor surgery."⁴⁹ Stephen P. Cohan in his account "The Idea of Pakistan" claims that the separatist or the autonomist movements are, though, unlikely to succeed but the country will continue to be plagued by such sentiments. He further, pointing out the threat emanating from the domestic sectarian terrorists groups, emphasises that it is in Pakistan's vital interest to combat such groups and bring them under the state's control.⁵⁰ Similarly, Selig S Harrison, an American specialist in South Asia and East Asia, while commenting on Pakistan's domestic challenges states that with four ethnic groups prevailing in the country, the prospects of survival of the country in the present form, appears increasingly uncertain.⁵¹ A number of analysts have also been highlighting the negative impact of growing sectarianism on Pakistan's stability. Experts believe that the litany of violence has torn at communal relations in Pakistan, exacerbating an uncompromising retaliatory mindset that has radically weakened the norms of even basic civility.⁵²

It's not just the international media or the security analysts belonging to world academia, raising their voices over the issue, but numerous Pakistani political and defence thinkers

share the similar views on the continuously deteriorating internal security situation of the country. The former president of Pakistan Pervez Musharraf has repeatedly stressed that the internal threat is the most challenging issue facing Pakistan. He, in 2004 put it vividly by saying, “The only threat is sectarian and religious terrorism, which is eating us like termites. . . . We all have to fight against it.”⁵³ In the words of Shah Mahmood Qurishi, the country’s foreign minister (2008-2011), “Pakistan’s existential internal security situation is all time high, and needs to be accorded top priority over all the issues Pakistan is facing today.”⁵⁴ Similarly, the former Governor of KPK Province and Commander Peshawar Corps, Lieutenant General (retired) Ali Jan Aurakzai while commenting on the country’s security situation said, “Pakistan’s prevailing security dynamics are influenced by both internal and external factors, however, the gravity of the internal threat is much higher, warranting all the elements of national security – political, social and military – to be brought on one page.”⁵⁵ Once asked the same question by the researcher, Air Marshal (retired) Shahid Lateef said, “The founder of Pakistan during his speech to the country’s 1st constituent assembly decreed “the maintenance of law and order” (the internal security) as the first duty of the state.

However, the situation has even deteriorated once we compare it with the past decades.”⁵⁶ And Feroz Khan sees his country’s internal challenges as, “Pakistan’s re-orientation of its Afghan and Kashmir policies has made the domestic security the most pressing issue for the national security of Pakistan.”⁵⁷

Pakistan today, is facing the worst security dilemma of its history. Although, the internal threat to the national security is much more serious but the external threats stemming from both the eastern and western borders cannot be ignored altogether. The security dynamics of Afghanistan have direct bearing on Pakistan’s internal security kinetics. A peaceful and stable Afghanistan is in the best national interest of Pakistan. The post-2014 scenario, when the U.S. led NATO forces shall

leave Afghanistan, is extremely vital from Pakistan perspective.

Furthermore, the Indian factor cannot be divorced in Pakistan's security paradigm. The Indian factor has always been linked with Pakistan's both the internal as well as external security concerns. The international community, especially the policy makers in United States have, though, been emphasising on the military and political leadership of Pakistan to ignore Indian factor and concentrate only on the domestic stability, but viewing from Pakistani prism it is not possible. It is an open secret that India has been supporting all anti-Pakistan forces in destabilizing the country. Even the present U.S. Secretary of Defence, Chuck Hagel, during his speech at Oklahoma's Cameron University in 2011, said that "India for some time has always used Afghanistan as a second front, and India has over the years financed problems for Pakistan on that side of the border"⁵⁸ Similarly, Indian involvement in Baluchistan is again a well established fact. Apart from that the former India army chief V. K. Singh has himself confessed Indian involvement in destabilizing Pakistan. Moreover officials from Technical Services Division (TSD) and Indian Army have acknowledged that intelligence unit (TSD) set up by former army chief was involved in sensitive covert operations in Pakistan. Even the incidents of attacks on Indian parliament in 2001 and Mumbai 26/11 were all planned and executed by India.

Under such circumstances Pakistan just cannot keep its eyes closed from its eastern border. However, the threat growing rapidly in the country's internal sphere needs to be addressed immediately and with full force. Keeping in view the scope of the research the internal threat parameters are being discussed in this section.

Existential Threat Scenario – A Grim Picture

Ever since Pakistan has joined the ongoing WOT, the security dynamics of the country have changed dramatically. Since 2001 Pakistan has faced almost 7000 terrorists' attacks,

resulting into over 48,000 of human lives. The major blunt was faced by KPK province with over 2300 attacks (33 percent), FATA about 2100 attacks (30 percent) and Baluchistan about 2000 attacks (29 percent). As regards to the fatalities KPK suffered the most with over 43 percent, followed by FATA with about 33 percent of total fatalities.⁵⁹

Apart from the terrorists attacks the country has also been victim of drone attacks from the U.S. which have resulted into a large number of collateral deaths. On May 23, 2013, while delivering a major policy address at National Defence University, Fort McNair, President Obama claimed that the use of predators is legal, moral, and effective tool in the ongoing WOT.⁶⁰ This rhetoric claim along with the paradox of drone attacks can only be analyzed with facts and figures.

In Pakistan, the first known drone strike was carried out on June 17, 2004 in Wana, South Waziristan which resulted in killing of at six including infamous Naik Muhammad and two children. Since then, the US has conducted over 374 drone attacks – the last being on November 1, 2013, killing Hakimullah Mehsud. As per the data source – The Bureau of Investigative Journalism, New America Foundation, Living Under Drones, and Bing News API – the total estimated fatalities comes to about 3200. The further breakdown of the sufferings includes: over 175 (5 percent) children; about 550 (17 percent) civilians; over 2400 (75.9 percent) others; and approximately 50 (1.5 percent) high profiles.⁶¹

Three things are worth noting. One, the “OTHER” category of victims (75.9 percent) is classified differently depending on the source. The Obama administration classifies it as any able-bodied male a military combatant unless evidence is brought forward to prove otherwise. They could be neighbours of a target killed, a militants or innocent altogether. Two, the percentage of confirm high profile militants killed in all drone attacks in Pakistan is just 1.5 percent, rest 98.5 percent were all either innocent or killed without being given any representation or voice to defend them. And, Three, the claim of killing 50 high profile is again doubtful. Baring just few it

does not include any first, second or third tier of al-Qaida or Taliban leadership. Hence, the lethal drone exercise, for achievement of just 1.5 percent of results, is by no means a rational choice; nor can it be regarded as an effective tool of employment. Furthermore, such massive nature of collateral damage in the process can – by no definition – be claimed as legal and moral.

The regional and global events occurred in the aftermath of the 9/11 – especially the U.S. attack on Afghanistan and the drone attacks in Pakistan's tribal area – have worsened the internal security of Pakistan to an alarming degree. Today, terrorism is the primary threat to Pakistan's internal stability, and above all its potentials to rise as a great nation. The existential security threat – generated from assorted elements of threat facilitators and its force multiplier – has created a complex mosaic on Pakistan's national identity.

Analysing the country's security dimensions, one finds that the manifestation of threat differs from province to province and region to region. With all fronts activated simultaneously, the country's security situation has gone worst to tackle. Furthermore, the prevailing security dynamics are influenced by both internal and external factors.⁶²

Due to Afghan War (1979-1989) the century old tribal culture of FATA got damaged as power shifted from Tribal Elders to Taliban. This was followed by a continuous wave of terrorism which spilled over largely to KPK and then rest of the country. Furthermore, the U.S. has its strategic interests linked in FATA due to the ongoing WOT. The Indian factor in FATA can also not be ignored as it would always avail every opportunity to destabilize Pakistan. In the country's domestic security preferences, FATA has become the main boiling point and a source of terrorism and militancy. Hence, in the transnationalists security dimensions of KPK and FATA, both foreign and local players are involved.⁶³

With reference to situation in Sind province, Karachi has been bleeding since long. The threat manifestation of Karachi

and Sind is politico-economic in nature involving a number of players like political parties and their armed militant groups, sectarian and ethnic factions, and various mafia players. The responsibility of the prevailing unrest, and poor law and order situation in Karachi lies on the political divines which remained in power in the province of Sind for the past many years.

The security concerns of Baluchistan entail both foreign and home elements. Ever since its accession with Pakistan in 1947, Baluchistan has never been given its due share in the national stream due to which a sense of deprivation prevails amongst people of Baluchistan. Quetta, on the other hand, is subjected to bad governance and purported sectarianism. Due to vast natural resources in Baluchistan, external hands have always played their role in keeping the province disturbed. The geo-strategic location of Baluchistan along the future energy routes, the Gwader port and the IP Gas Pipeline projects are seen as threat by a host of foreign elements. The sub-nationalist security dynamics of Baluchistan have both tribal and foreign players.

The security situation in Punjab is, though, not alarming but all major cities like Lahore and Rawalpindi have been under terrorist attack largely by Punjabi Taliban. The security dimensions of Punjab are politico-economic and sectarian in nature, involving host of local players funded from abroad.

The security demonstration in Gilgit-Baltistan is sectarian and has not grown in size. It involves mostly the local players, but the foreign element cannot be altogether ruled out due to Pakistan-China historic relations and a number of strategic projects planned in the region.

Three important facts can be deduced from the above analysis. Firstly, the security dynamics of the whole country are not same. The different provinces and places have their unique security concerns. Secondly, a host of internal and external players contribute in shaping the country's grim security picture. And, Thirdly, all the internal players though

have different goals and objectives, but they all are united on one point agenda – where their interests converge – i.e. “destabilization of Pakistan.”

In order to restore the country’s law and order situation, stability and state’s writ, formulations of a comprehensive national security strategy is the order of the day.

Summary

Due to its geostrategic architecture, Pakistan’s occupies an important position in the world politics. Various regional and global events together with the wrangling history of its relations with India, and the Afghan’s internal instability, have played decisive role in shaping the country’s domestic and international behaviour. Pakistan’s institutional performance for the past sixty-six years of the country history has, however, been disappointing for its millions of population.

On its internal political pedestal, the country could not develop a political culture due to insincere and corrupt leadership, power tussle between president and prime minister and the arbitrary military. The country leadership has been reluctant in devolution of power to the grass-root level. Three models of LGs, which the country experienced during military regimes, also failed to deliver dividends to poor masses as they were established to serve the best interests of the dictators. The strategic interests of great powers, especially the U.S. also proved detrimental towards the nourishment of democracy in the country.

Economically, the state could not form a solid base for the sustained economic growth. The country did demonstrated good growth rate in Ayub’s and Musharraf’s eras, but that could only be credited to foreign loans, grants and subsidies. The basic character of Pakistan has always been the “elitists’ model of state economy” in contrast to the developed and developing nations’ “shared model.”

Since its inception, security remained the decisive factor in formulating Pakistan's national and international character. The Indian factor forced Pakistan to go nuclear, enter into an arm race with India and resort to huge allocation on defence. It was due to its security reasons that Pakistan preferred to join the U.S. camp ignoring next-door superpower – the USSR – as well to sign four defence pacts with the west and the U.S. Above all the Afghan War (1979-1989) and the ongoing WOT have not just affected the country's security dynamics but completely malformed its social fibre.

Irrespective of its past performance, Pakistan possesses numerous potentials to rise as a great nation. It's a country which on the basis of its geography alone can rise high in the comity of nations. The close proximity of hydrocarbon rich CARs, Russia and Iran with two natural energy corridors can generate numerous economic activities in the country. Besides, it has been bestowed with numerous human and natural potentials. Apart from being world sixth largest population, 35 percent of its population fall in the prime working age group. Furthermore, over four million of its population has been working abroad and have been contributing three to five percent in the country's GDP.

Besides, the country's minerals constitute some of the world's largest reserves of coal, gold, copper, chrome, gas, rare earth, rock salt, gemstone, marble, onyx, granite, and 42 other minerals. It is ranked ahead of various world models (France, Germany, Japan and UK) in possessing proven reserve of natural gas, crude oil and coal. It also holds rich gold and copper deposits. By 2014, Reko Diq project with its production capacity of 600,000 tons of copper concentrate annually will bring Pakistan among major copper producing countries.

Moreover, the country also enjoys great potential in agriculture and manufacturing sectors. Agriculture accounts for 34 percent and manufacturing 26 percent of the GDP as it is the 5th largest producer of cotton, 6th in Sugarcane and Mangos, and 8th largest producer of Wheat in the world.

Besides it is 3rd in pulses and oilseeds and 5th in Dates and 12th in milk production.

Pakistan's marred performance is an accumulative result of many factors; the most pronounced one is the failure of its political and economic institutions. In political side some of the identified stumbling blocks included: leadership deficit; successive military takeovers; power tussle between presidents and prime ministers; weak ECP; absence of grass-root level of democracy; and regional and international factors. The factors contributed towards the economic downfall of the country include: political and security instability; neglect of agriculture and manufacturing sectors; elitists' model of economy; and low preference to education.

The prevailing internal security mosaic is an outcome of various domestic, bilateral, regional and international factors. One thing can very convincingly be concluded from the country's grim security picture that all the adversary forces of Pakistan, despite having numerous internal differences, are united on a single agenda i.e. "destabilizing Pakistan," whereas the stakeholders responsible for safety and survival of the country are divided on the issue of talking the terrorists.

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6

WAY FORWARD

Major Conclusions and Recommendation

The conduct of research – in pursuit of Pakistan’s prospects of becoming a proud and prosperous nation – has revealed various facets related to the process of a nation building. The literature review of extremely credible authors served as the basis of the research to view the query from different angles. The discussion of prevailing world models and set international standards, review of Pakistan’s sixty-six years of performance of its political, economic and security institutions, the exploration of the country’s potentials and the analysis of the stumbling blocks – hindering Pakistan’s flight as a proud and prosperous nation – have all helped in finding a way forward. However, before suggesting measure for capacity building of the state’s institutions, it is imperative to highlight findings drawn from the conducted research.

Major Conclusions

Basic Definition of “State” and Evolution of Prevalent International System

As there is no consensus amongst the political thinkers on one definition of a “state” or a “nation-state”, various terms like country, state, nation and nation-state are quite often used interchangeably. Moreover, political theorist identify minor differences in all the above. All the concepts, theories, connotation and meanings conceived by political thinkers, lead to one generally accepted, description of a nation, or nation-state which defines state as: “a large social system with a set of rules that are enforced by a permanent administrative body.” The existing shape of international system of states is an outcome of long peace process initiated after fighting brutal wars. In the documented history of nations, five peace processes and treaties – Westphalia 1648; Utrecht 1713;

Vienna 1815; Versailles 1919; and UNO 1945 – have played vital role towards the evolution of the contemporary world order (the states system).

Since the existing world order is anarchic in nature, all states – being preeminent actors – take actions to secure their survival, sovereignty and national interests. The realists' views are more relevant in the existential international system – and even in case of Pakistan – in which states seek power in securing state's survival and sovereignty. Pakistan in order to maintain balance of power with India, opted to go nuclear in response to India nuclear explosions.

Ingredients of a Proud and Prosperous Nation

The process of transforming a group of people into a proud and prosperous nation is just not a complex assignment; rather nations wait for centuries and pay heavy cost before attaining such landmark. On the contrary the process of nations' disintegration is swift and simple in nature, needing no expertise. One wrong decision at strategic level can quash a nation's achievements of one hundred years. The history of Pakistan is full of such irrational decisions – like relying too much dependence on the U.S. for meeting the country's domestic political, economic and defence needs; joining of Afghan war and WOT without doing cost-benefit analysis; and resorting to elitists model of economy – which never allowed the process of our nation making.

The perusal of the nations' history – especially those which rose to the podium of great nations (e.g. the U.S., Europe, Russia and China) – reveals that they were not in the same shape at the time of their inception, and even after a long period of their history they continued to suffer from internal disorders and external aggressions. However, one thing remained common in all such nations which helped them in rising as respectable actor in the world arena, and that is their commitment to strengthening and capacity building of their states' institutions – particularly the political and economic institutions.

In political manifestation, they remained committed to democracy. They realized that the recipe of forming a government, which addresses their peoples' voices, is the democratic model of governance. Before the advent of democracy the internal, regional and international facets of nations remained complex and blood-spattered in nature. In their domestic terms the dividends of good governance could not reach to the poor masses. The mark difference in living standards of people could be recognized by peeping through nations' history in their pre and post democratic eras, more precisely before and after the WW- II. On the external front, most of the wars occurred between the non-democratic nations. This observation validates the Kant liberal peace theory (presented in his essay "Perpetual Peace" in 1795) which spells out that: "democracies don't fight war" – to be very precise "against each other." The nations' commitment to strengthening their democratic institution helped them in attaining a respectable place in the world.

The strengthening of economic institution by adopting the shared economic model is another reason of the nations rise. The shared model of economy – in contrast to the elitists' model – discourages accumulation of wealth in few hands, encourages governments to initiate long-term institutional reforms, provides incentives to investors, and ultimately let the people to reap the dividends of their nation's prosperity.

As all the visionary leaders – like founder of Pakistan Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah – believe that the state's first duty towards their nation is maintenance of law and order so that the life and property of its masses are protected. A state's internal peace and stability is the most important ingredient towards nations' building. A safe and secure country provides a platform to all the state's institutions to flourish and perform their functions to their optimum capacity. Safety and security shall also attract the domestic and foreign investors to put their money for good return, ultimately befitting the state and its people.

The factor which serves as a catalyst in the recipe of a nation's building is the technological advancement through education. The investment in education sector provides solution to the causes of a state's failure as reflected in the ignorance theory of nations' inequality. Low education breeds poor leadership – ill-informed, illiterate, inefficient, ill-advised and ignorant of the worth of the national wealth – ultimately dragging their country to a dismal situation, whereas education produces enlightened and informed leaders, advisors, think-tanks and policymakers, capable of taking the country out of crisis.

Good governance is yet another constituent element of making a proud and prosperous nation. A state's responsibility is much beyond just managing the affairs of the state by virtue of the constitutionally vested authority and maintaining writ of the government or the law and order. A state's machinery is required to provide good governance, ensuring the optimum functioning of the state's institutions especially those linked with provision of public services. Realizing its significance, all progressive nations have adopted the good governance as a key concept and intriguing theory in their development.

As a country's net behaviour in domestic and global theatre is the mixture of its economic, political and security paradoxes, therefore, the states' elite, advisors and analyst do not discuss any of the above elements in isolation. All the institutions of a state have close linkage – especially political, economic and security – and complement each other through their internal institutional performance. The institutional failure is a contagious disease which badly affects the other states' pillars as well. On the other hand an institution progress shall lead to sympathetic detonation on other institutions, triggering the process of national prosperity.

Indicators of Nations' Growth

Basing on the available literature on the rise and fall of nations in the world canvas, the analysts have identified

certain specific indicators which serve two purposes: first, determine a state's relative position in comparison with contemporary member actors of the international community; and second, establish a state's direction whether or not following the requisite international standards. A nation's relative position on the efficiency index, besides highlighting its domestic institutional strength and people's prosperity, would also decide its place in the international community.

In political discipline the pundits of international relations have identified five different systems of governance – democracy, republic, monarchy, communism and dictatorship – being followed in the contemporary world. Democracy is, however, rated as the best model due to the involvement of people in government functioning and recognition of their social, economical and political rights. Among the democratic systems both presidential as well parliamentary forms of governments prevail in different countries with equal numbers of advantages and disadvantages. The last and the most significant facet of the democratic model is the transferring of the powers to the grass-root level. All democratic countries, with high ranking in the world democracy index, have a strong and well established lower level of governance. The grass-root level of governance is considered as the true essence of democracy, which – besides serving as nursery of a nation's future leadership – enables the general masses to reap the dividends of democracy.

Various world economic organisations and institutions – such as International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank (WB), World Economic Forum (WEF), and United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA) – as well private organizations and countries' economic institutions, on the basis of their absolute and comparative economic surveys, and published reports have identified specific tools of analysis to measure a state's economic potentials and its economic strength in the world. All organisations and individuals use almost similar tools with varying degree of weightage. These instruments of measurement include: GDP; GDP annual growth rate; GDP

per capita; trade volume; infrastructure development; education and technical advancement; revenue collection; inflation; and corruption in public sector. A nation's overall behaviour in economic development is determined by viewing the country's index in relevant economic indicators.

The security dimensions of the whole globe have dramatically changed after the events of September 11, 2011. There is no country on earth which has not suffered – directly or indirectly – due to the terrorists' attacks in New York. It was after the 9/11 when the phenomenon of national security transformed into international verity, imposing the need for framing and institutionalizing a comprehensive national security strategy.

All nations whether falling in the category of great or struggling category for attaining respectable place in international community pay top priority to their national security – especially the homeland security – and focus on development of national-level grand plan to achieve their set goals and safeguard the best national interests, facilitating their nation to play its significant role as unitary actor in the international anarchic system. Without a foolproof homeland security the dream of economic prosperity and political pride cannot be fulfilled.

Since Pakistan is far low in the growth indicators – meeting the international standards and competing the selected models states – therefore, the country's policymakers need to work on war-footing to take the state somewhere near the bare minimum global standards.

Centre of Gravity of Pakistan

Since all the grand strategists believe in the Clausewitz's theory of CoG – a point, military, political, social etc, in a nation's organism at which, should he be defeated, or should he lose it, the whole structure of the nation power will collapse – they pay greater attention in strengthening their own CoG and exploiting the one of their adversaries. The strengthening

of the CoG is done by no means other than strengthening of the state's institutions and safeguarding the vulnerable points. The process of disturbing the adversary CoG involves striking its vulnerable points and destabilising its states institutions.

The analysis of Pakistan case-study in a realist paradigm reveals that the country's CoG lies in its peculiar strategic location, productive natural and human resources, and the armed forces.

Pakistan geostrategic location is its strength which makes the country as focal point to all the great powers. Being located at the heart of South, Southwest and Central Asia, it links the energy rich CARs, Russia and Iran with rest of the world through two energy corridors bestowed by the nature. Pakistan through its peculiar geostrategic location can generate numerous economic activities. Its adversaries know its geographical significance, though can't alter it.

Viewing the institutional performance of the country, it is an established fact that the CoG of Pakistan lies in its armed forces. The institutional performance of Pakistan Army in meeting the internal as well external challenges has been commendable. On external front, Pakistan's armed forces posses the matching ability to deter any conventional or non-conventional threat. Internally they have always lived up to the expectations in fighting out terrorism, and conducting relief cum rescue operations during natural calamities.

The country's economic potentials revolve around its productive human as well natural resources. The sixth largest global population with 35 percent falling in prime working age (between 25-55 years), numerous natural resources, water sources and sea wealth make Pakistan's case for economic prosperity even stronger.

Pakistan's adversaries have always been exploiting its vulnerable points so as to disturb its CoG. Like all other nations, Pakistan also possesses a number of vulnerable points such as: the weak political system and prevalence of

nationalists, ethnic, sectarian and religious extremist elements, often been utilized by its foes in destabilizing the state of Pakistan.

Pakistan's Political Affairs

The performance of Pakistan's political institutions has never been worth praising once compared with the set international standards and other actors of the international system. The arbitrary periods of military regimes, and the corrupt and inefficient political leadership have never let the political institution to flourish.

Pakistan being considered as part of "hybrid regimes" (the other categories include full and flawed democracies) is rated as low as 108th among democratic nations, however, ahead of authoritarian regimes of China and Russia. Furthermore, Pakistan has experienced both presidential as well parliamentary forms of governments. The trail of tussle between the offices of presidents and prime ministers, for grab of power, has badly damaged the state's political institutional behaviour. The situation warrants the nation to choice one form of government. As regards to the transfer of people powers to grass-root level, Pakistan has tried three different model – all by the military dictators – but these never served the best purposes due to the inherent weaknesses. The election of local governments is pending ever since re-establishment of democracy in the country. For revival of true essence of democracy, holding of elections for local governments is the order of the day.

The institution of ECP has also not been able to play its effective role either in conducting fair, free and transparent elections or refuting the ruling party from using government machinery in their election campaign. Institution of an independent ECP under article 213, 218 and 219 of Constitution of Pakistan is of paramount importance.

A number of regional and international events, due to their close linkage with the great nations' strategic interests, have

led to foreign (especially the U.S.) influence in Pakistan's domestic affairs. The great global players' regional interests never allowed the country's political culture to grow. Pakistan needs to chalk out independent decision making mechanism to formulate domestic and foreign policy decisions suiting to its best national interests.

Behaviour of the Economic Institution

Pakistan's economic behaviour has been far below the international standards and its potentials. All the worldly recognised economic indicators rank Pakistan much behind the world models of prosperity and economic development. Despite having bestowed upon the geostrategic location and mammonistic wealth of natural (land and sea) resources, and human capital, the poor performance of the economic institution indicates basic flaws in the state's economic policies which need to be addressed at top priority.

The major hindrance in the country's flawed economic situation is the adoption of elitist model of economy on the name of so called trickle-down philosophy. The "Elitist State" (a small group of elites) – in contrast to the shared model – has managed to hijack the state economic institution, controlling both the private and public sector. The whole situation has led to the rapid increase in poverty and inequitable distribution of the benefits of developments. In order to make Pakistan a proud and prosperous nation, making the poor masses to reap the dividends of national economic growth, the elitist model of economy needs to be buried alive.

During the periods of 1960s and 2000s, the country's economy demonstrated positive indicators – record 7 and 7.7 percent of growth rate in the 1960s, and 2005 respectively – but, these indicators are not attributable to any structural reforms, institutional capacity building policies, or farsightedness of the country leadership, rather to the strong international support and foreign loans.

The frequent government changes and arbitrary military regimes may be one excuse for inconsistency in the economic policies – from liberal growth to nationalization and then switching back to liberal approach – but various regional and international developments coupled with great powers interests have also been contributing factors in Pakistan's incompatible economic behaviour. The country's policy making apparatus needs to safeguard the best national interests while striking any agreement with international powers. Furthermore, investors would not be attracted to contribute in the country economic growth if their life, assets and rights are not protected. The country's prevailing security and political environment are not conducive for domestic as well as international investors.

Agriculture and manufacturing sectors have contributed maximum to the national GDP – 24 and 26 percent respectively – but their output have not been able to fulfil either the domestic demand or generating foreign revenue. The under par performance of both the sectors needs strong government backing and application of technological advancement in both the sectors.

Security as the State's First Responsibility

Pakistan has been facing security quandary right from the outset. It is, today, facing multidimensional threat to its sovereignty. The Indian factor has always had a major share in shaping the country's security, social and political behaviour both at national and foreign policy level. The Indian hegemonic designs and obstinate stance towards the outstanding issues between the two countries is just not a major factor forcing Pakistan to pursue its nuclear and missile programme, but also a major destabilizing force for the entire South Asian region. The past experience has proved that India has availed every opportunity – and shall do the same in future as well – in order to weaken Pakistan's dominion. The strategists in Pakistan cannot close their eyes from India in formulating the country's security policy.

The internal threat is even greater than the external one. The enemy within – in the form of extremism, sectarianism, regional nationalism and ethnicity – has grown much larger in size in the past one decade or so. All the national and international analysts believe that the probability of the country's disintegration from inside is more severe than the exterior ones.

Formulation of a comprehensive national security strategy by bringing all the stakeholders on a single page merits top priority. The political elite on tackling the issue of terrorism is fractured and confused whereas the forces working against the state – despite having numerous differences – are united on a single agenda i.e. the destabilizing of the country.

Two things can play the decisive role in combating terrorism and restoring the country's law-and-order situation: a strong political will; and unity of whole nation on a single point agenda of freeing the country from terrorism.

Social Factors

Generally all the state's institutions functioning in public sector have shown negative sediment for the past many years. The government education institutions, health care centres and departments of goods and services like Pakistan Railway, Pakistan International Airline (PIA), customs and police etcetera – once considered as hallmark of the state – have been heading towards degeneration. On the contrary, similar departments in private sphere are flourishing day and night. It is also worth noting that public sector departments possess larger infrastructure and resources than those own by private institutions. A government school or hospital, e.g., may have been established in thousands of square yards land and also receiving millions of budgetary allocation from the government, as compared to the similar setups founded by some small businessman in few hundred square yards without additional funding. The pay packages, perks and privileges and terms of services of government employees are much

better than those serving in private organisations. Yet there is a mark difference in outputs of the both.

Corruption, favouritism, nepotism, bribery and “SHIFARISH” (intercession) – in recruiting process and routine functioning of the government setups – are the biggest social evils eating the state’s institutions like termites and the most serious challenges the nation is facing today. All the state’s institutions need immediate anti-termite treatment.

Exogenous Factors

Irrespective of the type of government in Pakistan – democratic or non-democratic – some exogenous factors in the national policy making have also been much pronounced. The Indian consideration while chalking out the country’s strategy can never be neglected. The U.S. influence in shaping the Pakistan’s domestic behaviour certainly depicts the flawed policy choices by the country leadership guided by dependency theory i.e. reliance on the U.S. for security arrangements against India and foreign aid for managing the county’s economy. In order to view the world with own prism and chalk out independent domestic and foreign policy, Pakistan leadership will have to lower dependency on America.

Ignorance of the Elites

The leading country’s political, economic and defence analysts – despite having grip over the national issues – have no role to play in decision making process. On the other hand, the political elite of the country – despite being subjected to the ignorance theory of nations’ inequality and not possessing any understanding of the national issues – always remain in helm of affair. This dichotomy leads the country’s political, economic and security situation to a continuous dismal situation. The situation merits immediate attention of the authorities so that the country is benefitted from their depth of knowledge and expertise.

The Silver Lining

Despite all the shortcomings in institutional performance of the country, there is still one encouraging point, drawn from the research, that Pakistan has not fallen in the category of “failed states.” It is, however, not a success story either despite possessing numerous potentials.

In order to make the state of Pakistan a proud and prosperous nation its real potentials need to be exploited.

Recommendations

A few recommendations are appended below on the basis of the conducted research. These recommendations are by no means final words or readymade solutions for adoption. These are meant for evaluation by thinkers and analysts from all the specialities so as to facilitate the process of converting the population of 180 millions into a politically proud and economically a prosperous Pakistani nation.

Capacity Building of the State’s Institutions

A state’s strength lies in its institutions. If the state’s institutions are strong, the state is ought to be strong and vice versa. As the state’s institutions in Pakistan have shown constant decline over the past many years, two important steps are required to be taken in reviving their strength and further capacity building: ONE, damage control with the aim of stopping their further deterioration; and TWO, enhancing their efficiency to matching demand of their services.

Many scholars recommend either of the methods to accomplish the objectives i.e. top-to-bottom or bottom-to-top. However, it is recommended that a multidirectional approach would help in achieving maximum output in minimum time. The first step towards the institutional building is not less than freeing them from the political influence in the organisational internal affairs. It is recommended that through the act of parliament, all the discretionary powers

vested on the political figures on departmental matters – including appointments, promotions, postings, decisions making and utilization of funds – should be ceased forthwith.

Starting from the top, the appointment of the heads of the government institutions should never be made on political basis, rather purely on professional basis out of the top most qualified and most experienced panel of officers. A capable promotion board, after evaluating the efficiency, qualification, and experience of available top officials viz-a-viz the role and functions of the organisations, should recommend the names (a panel of three) to the competent authority for filling the top slot. It would be much beneficial for the concerned institution if the head is appointed from within the organisation who by virtue of his experience would be well acquaint with the shortcomings as well as the available options to improve the departmental efficiency.

Similarly for intra-organisation promotion, specific qualification standards and seniority should be explicated for every appointment, and considered by the internal promotion boards. The phenomenon can be explained by illustrating the example of appointment of judges in the provincial high courts and the Supreme Court of Pakistan. The appointment of judges to Supreme Court should fall within the jurisdiction of Chief Justice of Pakistan who should make such appointments by alleviating high court judges on the recommendations (based on seniority and competence) of the Chief Justices of provincial high courts. Similarly, the appointment of judges in high courts should fall within the realm of concerned provincial Chief Justice who should make such promotions on the recommendations (based on seniority and competence) of districts and sessions judges. The head of the state should only be constitutionally authorized to appoint Chief Justice of Supreme Court of Pakistan. Whereas the chief justices of provincial high courts should be appointed by the Chief Justice of Pakistan after considering a panel of judges in supreme and high courts.

By adopting the same procedure in all the other state's department, the root-cause of their marred performance can be removed, making the state's institutions independent from political affiliation, strong and efficient.

Following the bottom-to-top, the merit-based recruitment can be ensured by appointing independent recruitment setup. In line with National Testing Service (NTS) – meant to conduct theoretical tests for various admissions / posts – a new organisation, namely National Recruitment Service (NRS), can be raised with the mandate to create a pool of talents for appointments in different organisations, both in public and private sectors.

Furthermore, the linkage of efficiency and performance in professional courses with service benefits and promotion criteria would yield positive results in enhancing the departmental output.

Political Institutional Module

Among all the state's institutions the politicians have demonstrated the worst performance. On the basis of experimenting various models of governance and shortfalls observed in the country's political system, few measures are suggested in the succeeding paragraphs.

The first step towards political reforms is related to the closure the doors of military takeover once for all. Where it is an established fact that democracy is the best form of government, its true dividends can only reach to the masses if democracy is allowed to flourish in the country. The holding of regular elections, authorising democratic government to complete their legitimate tenure, and judging the efficiency of the rulers by the people (through their votes in the next elections) should go unchecked. Theoretically it sounds good but its pragmatic manifestation is only possible if all the political actors, irrespective of their political affiliation, take a unanimous stand against adventurous military dictator. It would further be strengthened if both the houses of the

parliament pass unanimous resolution on: FIRSTLY, declaring politicians disqualified for contesting national / provincial assembly for joining a military government; SECONDLY, forbidding courts from taking oath under Legal Framework Order (LFO); and THIRDLY, declaring validation of military regimes under the so called “doctrine of necessity” as invalidated. It would be a change purely from within, and would go a long way in rewriting the history of the country’s new political behaviour.

The second measure in the political sphere is related to the choice between parliamentary and presidential forms of government. It is suggested that instead of following the parliamentary form of government, Pakistan should switch over to the presidential form of government as it is more suitable to country’s domestic environment. Both the principle alternative models of government have been successfully followed in the world with equal numbers of advantages and disadvantages. The presidential model in the U.S.A and parliamentary model in the U.K. are two ideals for rest of the world to follow. However, the political environments in Pakistan are more suggestive for the presidential form of government in the centre and governors verses chief ministers at provincial level. The switching over to the presidential form would at one end help in eliminating the long power tussle between the presidents and prime ministers, and on the other hand will ensure unification of decision making under public representatives. Furthermore, it would also reduce huge government spending in maintaining one redundant appointment and its paraphernalia.

It is also suggested that the president – as both head of the state and government – should be elected directly through people’s vote (opposite to prevailing election of the leader of the house via electoral college). The process, besides curbing the trend of floor-crossing (Horse Trading) in both the houses of the parliament, shall also provide opportunity to the general masses to elect their most popular leader as president.

The fourth recommendation for strengthening the political institution is concerning the Election Commission of Pakistan. For conduct of free, fair and transparent election, the significance of an independent and impartial Election Commission cannot be over emphasised. Articles 213 and 219 of 1973 constitution are explicit on the procedure of the appointment of ECP and his charter of duties. The past experience, however, suggests that the ECP has failed to conduct elections in the true spirit of democracy. It is suggested that a parliamentary committee may be instituted to evaluate various measures deemed necessary for strengthening the office of ECP. Moreover, on emplacement of an independent and efficient ECP, the need of establishment of a caretaker government before elections stands superfluous.

The final but the most important recommendation, towards nourishment of true essence of democracy, is related to the holding of local governments (LG) elections. Pakistan has experimented three models of LGs. All of them failed to dispense true essence of democracy to the grass-root level as they all were meant to serve the best interests of the military rulers, abetting and sustaining their undemocratic regimes.

Various characteristics of the true model of LGs can be found in the Constitution of Pakistan-1973, which if followed in its true spirit can provide the most efficient and competent sculpture of good governance. Article-32 of the constitution is related to the promotion of LGs, stipulating the state to encourage LG institutions composed of elected representatives of the areas concerned, giving special representation to peasants, workers and women. A state – under article-7 – means the federal and provincial governments, parliament, provincial assembly, and such local or other authorities in Pakistan as are by law empowered to impose any tax. Similarly the Article-140A of the constitution demands each province, by law, to establish a local government system and devolve political, administrative and financial responsibility, and authority to the elected representatives of the local governments. The subparagraph

(2) of the same article also insists on ECP to hold the local government elections.

Out of the three models experienced in the country, the devolution of power plan -2001 is most suitable with decentralization of powers by the provincial governments under Article-37(i) of the constitution. It is suggested that party-based LGs at district and tehsil (sub-district) level be instituted by decentralizing the government administration for facilitation and judicious disposal of the state's business to meet the convenience and requirement of the public. Following state's functions are recommended to compulsorily be decentralized to LGs: maintenance of law and order; higher secondary education at district and secondary education at tehsil levels; health care; financial powers including taxation (both house and property tax) and transportation.

It is also insinuated that the allocation of development fund should be made to the LGs and not to the members of national or provincial assemblies. The LGs – headed by public representatives – should prepare the annual budget managing their revenues and expenditures. Additional allocation of resources for development should be made by provincial / federal governments under the relevant head. This institutional approach would help curbing the embezzlement of public money and its use in securing the person interests.

Strengthening the Economic Institution

The economic situation of the country is not due to the paucity of resources but the flawed policies and non-visionary approach of the rulers. The economic picture of the country can be turned round by just introducing fundamental changes. Some of the essential changes are recommendations in the succeeding paragraphs.

There could be no two opinions on the fact the internal peace and stability of the country is prerequisite for generating good economic activities. No domestic or foreign investors can put his capital on stake unless his life and

belongings are safe. So, for Pakistan's economy to deliver to its real potentials, internal stability and security remains to be the top priority of the government. Furthermore, investors security is not only linked to the physical protection but the legal protection in the form of honouring the terms and conditions concluded in the contract agreement. Besides granting incentives to investors, it is also recommended that necessary constitutional amendments may be initiated as an inducement and protection to investors.

The second suggested change in the fundamental economic strategy is regarding the shared model of economy. The sixty-six years of the country history has proved that the elitists' model of economy on the name of so-called "trickle-down theory" has miserably failed in alleviating the living standards of the general masses. All the developing countries like India, Sri Lanka and Malaysia, have now switched over to the shared and market economic approach and they have been reaping its dividends. The pragmatic manifestation of the idea of switching over to the shared model is rather a remote possibility in the prevailing political environment, as the beneficiary of the elitists' model – irrespective of being in government or opposition – have always been protecting each others' interests. This, however, will be possible if the democratic process persists for a longer duration. The poor masses can out rightly invalidate the proponents of the elitists' model through the power of their vote.

The next suggestion on improving our national economy is pertinent to agriculture and manufacturing sectors. Since the agriculture and manufacturing sectors constitute the major chunk of national GDP, both the sectors need proportionate government patronage. It is recommended that the government should launch "green revolution" and "industrial revolution" simultaneously and formulate a five years visionary plan with a target of at least doubling the output of both the sectors. The achievement of the target is by no means a mission impossible. It can be accomplished with little benefaction from public sector. Streamlining the business procedures, development of infrastructure, tax relaxation in

importing latest machinery, facilitation in finding international markets for exporting their products, and transportation of raw and refined material are few steps which can yield revolutionary effects.

Another vital argument, on establishment of a strong base for national economy, is linked with utilization of foreign aid and debt. Despite receiving large amount of foreign aid and debt, the country's economy has remained stagnant and become more aid dependent. Foreign financial assistance (both aids and loans) are meant to fill in the national saving gap and foreign exchange gap to ultimately developing a strong economic base. The case in Pakistan has never been the same. The successive governments in Pakistan have been utilizing foreign financial assistance in short term measures related to managing routine economic activities which have resulted in the present grim economic picture of the state.

In order to generate long term economic opportunities it is recommended that foreign aid and loans should be utilized only in building infrastructure, supporting agriculture, manufacturing and energy sectors, introducing new ideas and technologies, and strengthening education as well health systems. The outcome of the investment may be late but it would establish a strong economic base for the country.

As last phrase towards economic development one can say that the whole national strategy, exercise and investment would prove to be futile effort, if the system is inefficient and corrupt. An inefficient but honest official is comparatively better than an efficient but dishonest one, as efficiency can be increased. For an efficient and honest organisation simultaneous efforts of top-to-bottom and bottom-to-top is recommended. Honesty and dedication, besides other promotion/appointment criteria should be chief considerations while filling the top slots and recruiting the lower vacancies. A separate recruiting organisation, like NRS as recommended above, may help in reducing nepotism, bribery and "SHIFARISH" (intercession) in enrolling individual and creating a pool of talents in each field of work.

As regards to corruption, the routine departmental functioning, it can be minimised by transparent agreements, reducing the discretionary powers, and across the board accountability. With the internal capacity building and strengthening of the state's institutions, the element of corruption would gradually diminish, giving rise to their efficiency graph.

Internal Security

The biggest challenge, the country facing today, is related to the internal security, and maintenance of law and order. However, formulation of a comprehensive national security strategy based on national unity on one-point agenda of combating terrorism can make Pakistan a secure, stable and safe place. A three point strategy is recommended to be incorporated in the overall national security action plan: (1) a strong political will; (2) devolution of powers; and (3) specific plans for specific areas / militant groups.

In order to fight out the miscreants a strong political will is the first and foremost requirement. The empirical analysis of the international models of COIN operations suggests that declaration of war against insurgents is always a political decision and not the military one. In 2006 the newly elected Sri Lankan president Mahinda Rajapaksa decided to launch the decisive crackdown on LTTE, and in 2009 his army was able to defeat the militants, ending three decades of civil war. Earlier in 2002, President Alvaro Uribe of Columbia decided to fight out FARC and ELN – two guerrilla groups fighting against the state since 1942 – and by 2008, his army was successful in thrashing both the guerrilla groups. The British model of COIN campaign in Northern Ireland also yielded positive results due to the strong political will and their philosophy of “winning hearts and minds” of the people. The British army fought for a quarter of a century before IRA agreed to ceasefire in 1994. Later the historic Good Friday Agreement was concluded in 1998, restoring writ of the state in its true perspective.

Realistic analyses of the prevailing security environment in Pakistan propose that no half-hearted or individual effort – political, military or social – can yield fruitful results. A combination of the three together with strong political motivation and a joint (government, police and military) approach to counter the insurgents would restore lawful authority of the state of Pakistan.

As regards to the devolution of powers in combating terrorism, one needs to seek assistance from the Constitution of Pakistan -- 1973 which explicitly defines the best mechanism for maintaining law and order. Article-32 and Article-140A of the constitution demands the state and the provincial governments to establish local governments composed of the elected representatives of the area. The subject of security, especially maintenance of the law and order (by placing local police under their control) should also be decentralized to LGs under Article-37(e). The process of devolution of power to local governments would resolve many issues related to administration and law and order.

Since the manifestation of the threat differs from area to area, specific plans of actions are recommended for specific scenarios. The situation in FATA and KPK is the worst. Its trans-nationalist security dimensions involving both local and foreign players, warrants a two-prong strategy. Firstly, for a better administration, coordination and decision making, FATA is recommended to be declared a separate province or merged with KPK province. Secondly, separate strategy should be formulated for domestic and foreign terrorists and their organisations.

For foreign elements there could be no other option except employment of hard power for vanquishing them out at all cost. There could be two categories of foreign players: the foreign militants – so called “Jihadis” – using Pakistani soil for refuge and fighting against the state; and the Indian and other intelligence agencies, funding and supporting the foreign and local militants. As a first step the cessation of foreign connection to all the domestic movements is most

essential. Besides encountering the foreign fighters with iron fist, sealing of border infiltration, intelligence gathering and exposing the hidden hands in all international forums are indispensable steps. The government of Pakistan should adopt the aggressive posture in presenting the dossiers of evidences to the UN and other international / regional organisations, besides launching official protests to the country sponsoring terrorism in Pakistan. Without isolating the terrorists groups from their international diasporas, the state of Pakistan cannot win against the insurgents.

The dealing of the domestic players in FATA and KPK province fighting against the state, however, merits separate strategy. As a first step all the groups should be given the option of dialogue. The dialogues, however, should be conducted under the constitution of Pakistan and from the point of strength. Ceasefire from militants should be prerequisite before initiation of the dialogue process.

The process of dialogue would yield multiple advantages to the state. Besides building a public opinion, the dialogue process shall also draw a dividing line between those who want to fight and those who want to talk. The government should then execute both the military plan and political dialogue simultaneously. The incentives and concessions granted to dialogue group may persuade the fighting group, and the destruction and casualties inflicted on fighting group may deter the dialogue group.

The sub-nationalist security dynamics of Baluchistan have both tribal and foreign players. The foreign actors have, however, been using the tribal heads and poor masses to attain their objective. Their methodology is based upon exploiting the social and economic disparities of Baluchistan. Intelligence based operation is required to be undertaken against the foreign elements which should be aimed at their identification, arresting with dossiers, exposing and bringing them to justice. In parallel effort, the British theory of "winning the hearts and minds" will yield positive result. It is suggested that the development of Baluchistan province

should start at war footing and their social and economic disparities be addressed by pooling up all the national resources. It would devalue the tribal heads, invalidate the foreign agenda, and the development of Baluchistan shall prove, in real sense, the development of Pakistan.

The situation in Quetta city being worse example of governance (in the disguise of sectarian killing) needs different but simple treatment. Devolution of power to local governments with responsibility to maintain law and order situation would address the maximum problems of the city. Furthermore, in all internal issues police is supposed to be the first line of defence. In Quetta split responsibility of security between police and Frontier Corps (FC), has only worsened the situation. For maintenance of law and order the city police should be employed with full authority, arms, equipment and expertise.

The politico-economic threat in Karachi involves a number of players like political parties and their armed militant groups, sectarian and ethnic factions, and mafias. The situation warrants more a political approach than the military one to revive life in Karachi. A three-prong strategy is recommended to address the Karachi situation: (One) ensuring conduct of free and fair elections at all tiers, so as to elect the people's true representatives and marginalize the political mafia which has high jacked the complete political and administrative infrastructure of the city; (Two) division of the city in more number of administrative units (from present 5 to 8 or 9 districts) so as to efficiently manage the affairs of over ten million population; and (Three) intelligence based targeted operation against the scoundrels. Three factors can play vital role in ensuring perpetual peace in Karachi: (1) a strong political will aimed at winning the hearts and minds of the people of Karachi; (2) keeping police in frontline with other law enforcing agencies readily available in aid of civil power; and (3) making the people's representatives responsible for safeguarding their life and property.

As a general rule no internal security operation is complete if it is not succeeded by a composite political, social and economic package. In the country's peculiar security environment, it is suggested that the composite package should be launched side by side security operation so as to keep the public opinion in favour of the state.

One Nation One Education System

Under the prevailing education system, the chances of transforming the population of 190 million into one proud and prosperous nation are rather bleak. Pakistan needs to declare education emergency in the country with the aim of achieving over 90 percent of literacy rate in the next five years. Following steps are recommended for imparting quality and education for all: ONE, the current 2.4 percent spending on education (percentage of GDP) be enhance to over 4 percent; TWO, following the theory of "one nation one education", standard curriculum be enforced in all institutions functioning under public, private and religious sectors; THREE, free and compulsory education up to secondary level in government / private schools; FOUR, businessmen, landlords and industrialists be motivated to sponsor wards of lower class for education – tax exemptions may be granted for such sponsorships; FIVE, cent percent scholarship scheme be introduced for university student; and SIX, students securing first five positions in all specialized disciplines be enrolled in public departments without formal recruitment procedures.

Conclusion

There is no academic consensus among the pundits of international relations on one definition of "state." However, all the political scientists while presenting various approaches, related to the organisational, hierarchal and functional aspects of a state, use a set of different interrelated words – state, nation, nation-state and country. By and large all the concept and explanations lead analysts and researchers to regard a "state" as a large social system under a permanent administrative body with a set of rules.

The inquiry of the nation making process is a tedious assignment. The history of nation-states suggests that almost all nations suffer from bad patches. However, only those nations survive and prosper who show spirit to exist and rise, and whose leadership take right decision at the right time. Furthermore, a nation is nothing but what its institutions define it to be. The states' institutional capacity building and their behaviour as unitary actors in international structure falls within the sphere of various schools of thoughts in IR.

In the journey of present international structure under the UNO, four peace processes are considered as key players: (1) "The Peace of Westphalia", signed between May 15 and October 24, 1648, concluded by 109 delegates, marking an end to a thirty years war in Europe; (2) "Treaty of Utrecht" was concluded in March-April 1713 by major European states including Spain, Great Britain, France, Portugal and Dutch and regarded as architecture of international society; (3) "Congress of Vienna", signed from September 1814 to June 1815, was the largest gathering of European sovereigns and diplomats, and proved helpful in maintaining undisturbed peace for almost forty years; and, (4) "Treaty of Versailles" finalized between Allies and Central powers on June 28, 1919 at the end of World War I, but due to its various controversial clauses and punitive measures against Germany, the treaty turned to be the root-cause of World War II. Nonetheless, after the end of World War II, the United Nations was formed in 1945 with the personal efforts of the U.S. President Roosevelt. The UN which started its journey with 51 states, is now an organisation of 193 member states.

The political scientists recognise a wide range of theoretical approaches and three fundamental factors towards the development of the world nations systems. These factors include: human beings, as basic entity in a state; social and political norms of the society; and, the universally accepted standards. The scholars from variant schools also argue that states have numerous obligations to perform both at home and abroad. At national level, a government is not just to govern, rather to deliver much beyond that. Its obligations

turn them to the well-being of their masses – means nothing but good governance. In global plane states are unitary actors and are supposed to contribute towards the stability of international system. They are also duty bound to safeguard their own survival, sovereignty and national interests.

The historic account of nations also reveals that the performance of a state's institutions – especially the political and economic institutions – has been as the main reason of their success or failure. Various organisations and individual analysts have always been working in identifying international standards and assessing comparative position of states.

The comparative study of selected model states viz-a-viz Pakistan reveals that the country's institutions have shown poor performance for the past sixty-six years.

In political perspective, “democracy” is considered as the best form of the government in today's world, superseding other four major models i.e. republic, monarchy, communism and dictatorship. In the existing world order 165 out of 193 member states of the UN have democratic form of government. Political scientists divide the world regimes in four typologies: full democracies, flawed democracies, hybrid democracies and authoritarian. The research data reveals that only 25 countries (11.3 percent of the world population) are ranked as “full democracies”, 54 countries (37.2 percent) rated as “flawed democracies”, 37 countries (14.4 percent) are “hybrid democracies”, and 51 states (37.1 percent) are ranked as “authoritarian” regimes. Pakistan being at 108th position is classified as “hybrid democracy.”

In the debate of economic prosperity, three theories – geography, culture and ignorance – assist in assessing the causes of nations' comparative state of prosperity and poverty. Moreover, world organizations, analysts and researchers on the basis of statistical data have drawn baseline in establishing the relative positions of state.

The United States of America with \$15.6 trillion of GDP, China with approximately \$21.3 trillion and Japan with about \$6 trillion, are ranked top three world economies in terms of GDP. Pakistan is at 44th position with just \$231 billions of GDP. In relation to GDP growth rate China has shown 7.8 percent of growth rate in 2012 and is at 20th position in the world. Pakistan's ranking is far below in the table at 92nd position with just 3.7 percent of growth rate. Likewise, in comparing GDP per capita, the U.S. with almost \$50,000 is at the top. Pakistan with meagre \$1290 of GDP per capita is far below the list. Furthermore, Pakistan is ranked 71st in the world ranking in exports and 25th in imports.

There are certain nations which spend over 100 percent of their GDP (both public and private) on their country's infrastructure development. Pakistan's spending is only 18.4 percent. In education sector Pakistan ranks 139th out of 153 countries with allocation of only 2.4 percent of its GDP. The country's revenue collection is just 11.9 percent of GDP (203rd position in the world); inflation is as high as 9.7 percent with 198/224 world ranking; whereas, in corruption index, Pakistan's position is 139th in cleanest nations.

The examination of the case-study of Pakistan reveals that the country's domestic performance has disappointed the wishes of its hundred-and-ninety millions of peoples.

Politically, Pakistan could not develop a democratic culture due to various reasons ranging from dishonest and corrupt leadership, power tussle between president and prime minister, and the successive military regimes. The country leadership has been reluctant in devolving power to the grass-root level. Three models of LGs, which the country experienced during military regimes, also failed to deliver dividends to poor masses as they were established to serve the best interests of the dictators. Moreover, the strategic interests of great powers, especially the U.S. has also proved detrimental towards the nourishment of democracy in the country. Economically, the state could not form a solid base for the sustained economic growth. The country did

demonstrated good growth rate in Ayub's and Musharraf's regimes, but that could not be credited to their visionary policies, rather to foreign loans, grants and subsidies. The successive governments have always adopted the "elitists' model of state economy" in disparity to the "shared model", being followed by all developing nations.

Pakistan's security concerns have always been the decisive factor in shaping its national and international behaviour. The presence of the hostile neighbour, India forced Pakistan to go nuclear, enter into an arm race and resort to huge allocation on defence. It was due to its security reasons that Pakistan preferred to join the U.S. camp ignoring next-door superpower, the USSR and signed four defence pacts with the west and the U.S. Further, the Afghan War (1979-1989) and the ongoing WOT have not just affected the country's security dynamics but completely malformed its social fibre.

Leaving its past performance aside, Pakistan holds several potentials. It's a country which on the basis of its geography alone can rise high. The close proximity of hydrocarbon rich CARs, Russia and Iran with two natural energy corridors can generate numerous economic activities in the country. Besides, the country has numerous human and natural resources. With world sixth largest population, 35 percent of its population falls in the prime working age group. Further, over four million of its population has been working abroad and contributing three to five percent in the country's GDP.

The country's minerals constitute some of the world's largest reserves of coal, gold, copper, chrome, gas, rare earth, rock salt, gemstone, marble, onyx, granite, and 42 other minerals. It is ranked ahead France, Germany, Japan and UK in possessing proven reserve of natural gas, crude oil and coal. Moreover, it also holds rich gold and copper deposits. The Reko Diq project by 2014 will be able to produce 600,000 tons of copper concentrate annually, thus bringing Pakistan among major copper producing nations. In metals and mines production (copper, chromium ore, gypsum, iron core, lead, salt and zinc etc) the country is ahead of many global models

of economies. The country also enjoys great potential in agriculture and manufacturing sectors.

Pakistan's poor performance is the result of many elements. The most pronounced ones are the failures of its political and economic institutions. Furthermore, the prevailing internal security mixture is an outcome of various domestic, bilateral, regional and international factors. One thing can very convincingly be concluded from the country's grim security picture that all the opponent forces of Pakistan, despite having numerous internal differences, are united on a single agenda i.e. "destabilizing Pakistan", whereas the stakeholders responsible for safety and survival of the country are divided on how to restore peace in the country.

Four international security models can help in finding solution to the ongoing internal unrest in Pakistan: Sri Lankan and Columbian models of COIN campaign which proved to be successful in defeating the insurgents at home and marking end to the long histories of civil wars; the UK model based on the theory of "winning heart and mind" which brought back peace after the history of terrorism spread over quarter of century period; and the US model of homeland security evolved after the tragic events of the 9/11.

In his address to the 1st Constituent Assembly on August 11, 1947, the father of the nation Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah said: "If you will work in co-operation, forgetting the past, burying the hatchet, you are bound to succeed."

With the demonstration of strong political will and bringing all the stakeholders on one page, Pakistan can just not come out the present state of national despair but can also rise as a proud and prosperous nation.

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